A CASE STUDY OF URBAN ETHNICITY:

HARROW GUJARATIS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the settlement of Gujaratis in Harrow, London, and the evolution of Gujarati organisations during the 1970s and the 1980s. Most Harrow Asians settled in the Borough after 1972, following their expulsion from Uganda. The Asian community, therefore, is predominantly East African and the majority of Asians originate from the Indian state of Gujarat.

Gujaratis were not welcomed in Harrow, yet the Borough could not prevent Asian immigrants from settling in this part of London. The proximity of Harrow to large Asian settlements in north London made it attractive to the more established immigrants. The first years of settlement were mainly dedicated to building a firm economic base, and Gujaratis established, during the 1970s, various associations that complemented their economic activity during the 1970s.

Some associations were founded on traditional lines. These were mainly caste and religious associations, which were also the most resourceful in financial and human terms. The affiliation of Gujaratis to different caste associations created serious rivalries with the consequence that the Gujarati community in Britain has remained divided. In Harrow, rivalries have emerged within the Asian community as a result of a growing competition for scarce resources. During the 1980s, Harrow Council declared itself an equal opportunities employer and, by this act, has raised the expectations of Asians that the Borough would be more responsive to their needs. Several pressure groups have

emerged, and Gujaratis played a major role in exerting pressure on the Council. Though some Gujarati activists were equally active in traditional associations, the intensification of the relationships with the Council assisted in the emergence of a new type of leadership, comprised Gujaratis who identified themselves as black and who adopted the ideological framework of institutional racism .

Although the thesis is about the settlement in Harrow of this community, the original interest of the researcher was focused on the food habits of this population as a method of measuring acculturation. Fieldwork on this subject was conducted both in Harrow and India. The thesis ends, therefore, with a description of the Gujarati diet both in Britain and India, with an analysis of the significance of the changes that have taken place in this area.

CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION[1]

On 4 August, 1972, General Idi Amin declared his intention to expel all Asians[2] from Uganda. His announcement was met with some disbelief, for "it seemed perhaps only another of the madman's whims" (Melady and Melady, 1976:4). The British government soon began to negotiate with the Ugandan ruler in the hope that he would retract from his plan, but the general agreed to make only one concession. By the end of August, 1972, he announced that Asians who had acquired Ugandan citizenship before the announcement was made would be allowed to remain in Uganda (Kuepper and others, 1975).

The expulsion from Uganda led to the arrival of about 28,000 Asians in Britain (Cunningham, 1973). Approximately 1,500 Ugandan expellees[3] were resettled in the London Borough of Harrow (CRC, 1974). This was the largest number of Asians to have settled within such a short period in the Borough, whose Asian population previously was according to the 1971 Census, 7,975[4]. The Ugandan expulsion, therefore, was the most significant single event to have increased the number of Asians in north and west London (see p. 2) and subsequently more Asians moved to Harrow.

Before describing the reception of the expellees in Harrow, it is therefore necessary to give an account, however brief, of the events which led to the expulsion, and which resulted in the emergence of an East African Asian community[5] in Harrow, and one which comprises predominantly people of Gujarati origin.

The expulsion, or a similar catastrophe, was not entirely unforeseen (cf. Ghai, 1970). It may be seen as a culmination of a series of events, each contributing to the erosion of the position of Asians in East Africa. Hence, it is better understood in the context of the political changes that took place since Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda gained independence, in 1962.

The exodus of Asians from East Africa during this period was affected by the response of the British government. Legislative measures were contrived to reduce the number of New Commonwealth immigrants settling in Britain. This generated a sense of insecurity amongst Asians in East Africa whose legal position, as well as economic standing, had already been seriously threatened. The British government attempted to portray immigration legislation as a contribution to 'racial harmony' with the argument that small numbers integrate more successfully. However, legislative measures to curtail immigration of non-white people may have legitimized hostile sentiments, such as those expressed by Enoch Powell MP (cf. Dummett and Dummett, 1982). They also encouraged the anti-immigration lobby to press for even harsher measures, e.g repatriation, to be taken by the British government against all black and Asian citizens in Britain (Gabriel and Ben-Tovim, 1982).

This introduction, therefore, delineates both the legislative means that were established to prevent New Commonwealth citizens from settling in Britain and the reception of Asians during the Ugandan crisis. This event

aroused racist sentiments, expressed by a wide cross-section of British society - including members of Parliament. This response is a measure of the attitudes prevailing towards immigrants, and particularly towards Asians.

Finally, it should be noted that the majority of Asians to have arrived in Britain from East Africa were Gujarati Hindus. These people, who originally came to East Africa from the Indian state of Gujarat, also constituted the majority of Asians in East Africa, about 70 per cent (Bharati, 1972). This outline, however, applies to the entire East African Asian population to have settled in Britain.

Asians in Independent East Africa

The Africanisation of East Africa was one of the prime goals of the East African nationalist movements, and was a policy which nationalist leaders had adopted prior to the attainment of independence by the East African states (Bharati, 1972; Grillo, 1974). Shortly after independence East African governments devised the vehicle upon which the allegiance of the foreign population, mainly Asian residents, could be established. The Constitution of the independent East African states gave Asians the option to register as citizens within a period of two years. According to Tandon and Raphael (1978), the British tried to "shake off" /sic/ the Asians during the negotiations for the independence of East and Central Africa. The British, so they claim, "succeeded in securing fairly generous citizenship laws for the Asians" (1978:13). Most Asians,

nevertheless, preferred to keep their options until the last few months and thus confirmed the suspicion of the East Africans that their Asian residents lacked faith in them. In Kenya, for instance, 40,000 Asians were allowed to take citizenship under the new laws, but six months before the end of this period only 8,174 applied.

Ultimately, the intention of the East Africans was to break the hegemony of the Asians in the retail trade and pave the road for an African middle class to take the place of Asian traders and civil servants (Bharati, 1972). As the number of Europeans was small, only the Asians remained in the way of the aspiring and growing African middle class. Whereas before independence both Europeans and Asians had by far the largest share of wealth, only the Asians were left as the more conspicuous remnant of colonialism. Bharati described their position as the following:

> ...the British and the powerful white, in general, have left Africa, but the Asian is sitting right there as a prime target. He is not willing to go, and this is well known to the Africans. The mere presence of the Asian - the fact that the big cities look like wealthy Indian settlements rather than African towns... makes them such a target (Bharati, 1972:112).

Five years after independence, East Africa began to restrict the rights of non-citizens. Tanzania was the first country to introduce a system of work permits and Kenya soon followed suit. Tanzania's president, Dr. Nyerere, was determined to minimize any non-African influence on the economy. In a speech delivered on 5 February, 1967 (later known as the Arusha declaration),

the president announced an overall programme of nationalisation, and its execution immediately began. This step was designed, amongst other things, to marginalize the influence of Asian entrepreneurs on Tanzania's economy. Non-citizen Asians were thus left with no source of income, and many soon made arrangements for leaving the country. Tanzania, which had an Asian population of 88,700 at the time of independence, was left by 1967 with about 55,000 Asians. By 1971 no more than 52,000 Asians were left in Tanzania, of which almost half were citizens (Tandon and Raphael, 1978:12).

In 1967 Kenya passed an Immigration Act, followed by a Trade Licensing Act, stipulating that all non-citizen Kenyan residents must apply for permits to live and work in Kenya. As a result, Asians began to leave Kenya in growing numbers, mainly to Britain (see p.xiii). By 1969 the number of non-citizen Asians in Kenya was considerably smaller than at the time of independence - about 176,000 (1962 Kenyan Census figures, in Tandon and Raphael, 1978: 12). The 1969 Census figures in Kenya enumerated 60,195 Asian citizens as against 76,870 non-citizen Asians (Ominde, 1975:48).

Uganda's programme of Africanisation, under president Milton Obote, took a similar direction. In 1969 new Acts were introduced which required practically all non-citizens to obtain work permits. This legislation affected a larger proportion of Asians, in comparison with Kenya and Tanzania, for only 35 per cent of them held Ugandan citizenship. Between 1959 and 1969, Uganda's Asian

population declined from 1.1 per cent to 0.8 per cent: a total of only 74,308 persons (Ominde, 1975:45) by the end of the decade. A year later, in 1970, partial nationalisation was declared. Asians, being dissatisfied with Obote's initiative, welcomed the military coup of January 1971 and the replacement of Obote by General Idi Amin.

By the end of 1971 a census of all Asian leaders was ordered. In a conference to which they were all called, Amin reproached Asians for their lack of faith in his government and for their superior behaviour towards Africans. This event, in retrospect, should have signalled a warning of catastrophe to come. Yet as mentioned earlier, the announcement caught the majority of Asians by surprise.

In a postscript on the situation of Asians in East Africa, Raphael observed a much more positive attitude towards Asians in the years following the expulsion. The Asian domination of trade and industry was broken and co-operation with Africans, also in joint ventures, became common. "In many respects", he says, "the Asians have never had it so good in East Africa" (in Tandon and Raphael, 1978:22). Rather than being seen as a threat, their contribution to the East African economy was being recognized and appreciated.

Asian Migration to Britain

Britain began to restrict immigration from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan during the 1960s, and further legislative measures were taken during the 1970s to reduce the number of Asian immigrants. Previously, under the British Nationality Act 1948, citizens of the British Commonwealth were free to enter Britain, to settle and to find work. This preferential treatment of immigrants from Commonwealth countries was gradually phased out in a succession of legislative and administrative measures, beginning with the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, when employment vouchers were first introduced. The Act removed the right of Commonwealth citizens to enter the United Kingdom freely and to settle[6].

However, because Commonwealth citizens settled in Britain before 1 January 1973 were entitled to bring their wives and children (under 18), the number of migrants from these countries continued to increase (see 1971 Immigration Act below). The 1971 Census enumerated 368,330 citizens of Indian origin[7]. In the late 1950s, the total number of Indians was around 55,000 (House of Commons, 1958). During the 1960s, the increase was largely a result of political instability in the newly established East African states. As explained earlier, non-citizen Asians were effectively forced to leave East Africa, particularly in the late 1960s. When Kenya made it obligatory for non-citizens (in certain categories) to obtain work permits, Britain introduced a new Commonwealth Immigrants Bill. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Bill

was intended to restrict entry of British citizens who had no 'close connections' in Britain. Those British citizens who had 'close connections', i.e patrial, were not subject to immigration controls. Consequently, Kenyan Asians were prompted to enter Britain before 1 March 1968, when the Act was to come into force. Almost 13,000 Kenyan immigrants entered Britain during the first two months of 1968, a figure only slightly lower than that of Kenyan Asian entrants in the previous year, a total of 13,600 (Tandon and Raphael, 1978:13). As The Runnymede Trust and The Radical Statistics Race Group (1980) pointed out, such legislative action might actually increase immigration for short periods. In 1971, the 1962 and 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Acts were replaced by a new Act. The patriality clause[8], however, remained and restricted entry and right of abode to New Commonwealth citizens (Ben Tovim and others, 1982; Rees, 1982). Britain could not bar her own citizens from settling on the ground of colour. This would undoubtedly have labelled her as a racist country. Yet this clause conferred on white Commonwealth citizens rights which Britain's non-white citizens were denied.

Under the provisions of this Act, non-patrials could be admitted for settlement only if they were qualified in respect of specific categories relating to spouse or dependent, or if they acquired a special voucher. A small number of non-patrials could be admitted if discretion was exercised on their behalf, outside of the Rules[9] made by the Secretary of State for the control of non-patrials (CRE, 1985:14).

East African Asians who held British passports were permitted to settle under the voucher scheme, or if they were dependents (wives and children under 18) of citizens settled in Britain. This was the position of British Asians in Uganda when the crisis began. Only a minority of them were eligible for entrance as dependents, and the remainder were eligible under the voucher scheme, which granted entrance to only a few thousands. To refuse entry to its own citizens, under such circumstances, would have turned the expellees into stateless people. Britain had to accept them.

After 1971 more regulations were introduced, mainly in relation to the entry of dependents of various categories (CRE, 1985:15).

This outline merely illustrates the political circumstances and legal conditions which affected the lives of many Asians, both from the Indian subcontinent and East Africa. It does not fully reveal, though, the hardships involved in queuing for entry into Britain or in the separation of families. These aspects of immigration control were, after much controversy, formally investigated by the Commission for Racial Equality, and its recommendations were published in 1985[11].

British Response to the Ugandan Crisis

The announcement of Idi Amin set the machinery of the British government working. On 15 August, 1972, Geoffrey Rippon, the government special envoy to Uganda, left for Kampala to negotiate the terms of the exodus with the Ugandan government. On his departure, he declared that "the real difficulty is in absorbing large numbers of people in a short period of time" ("The Times", 16 August 1972). He stressed, nonetheless, that Britain would fulfill assurances given in the past to its Asian citizens in East Africa. It was therefore hoped that negotiations would at least convince General Amin to postpone the deadline he imposed. Meanwhile, as the Foreign Secretary Alec Douglas Home later disclosed ("The Times", 1 September, 1972), Britain was negotiating with over twenty governments on the terms under which the expellees would be dispersed around the globe. That is, world nations were expected to assist the operation not by providing temporary accommodation, but rather by hosting permanently as many expellees as they could be persuaded to accept. Out of 50,000 Asians to have left Uganda (some of them became stateless or had neither Indian nor Pakistani citizenship) in that period, 22,000 were accepted by countries other than Britain. Canada and India took the largest number of expellees; approximately 90 per cent of the Asians who left Uganda between August and November 1972 went to Britain, Canada and India (Bristow and others, 1975). Other nations, including the United States, took a thousand expellees or less.

The Canadian government was the quickest to offer accommodation to about 6,000 Ugandan Asians who qualified for entrance under the existing immigration control system. The Canadian immigration office in Kampala issued 6,175 visas which brought, by Christmas 1973, 4,420 Ugandan Asians to Canada (Hawkins, 1973). The take up rate of the visas clearly indicates that some Asians were not confident that Britain would allow them in, and therefore secured a visa to another country.

India made a different kind of offer. On 4 September, 1972 Mr Swaran Singh, the Foreign Affairs Minister, said that India would offer 15,000 Ugandan Asians "temporary transit facilities" ("The Times", 5 September 1972). That is, the expellees were expected to remain in India only until Britain was ready to receive them. India had previously refused to accept Ugandan Asians but changed her decision on this matter since the British government accepted full responsibility (House of Commons, 1972).

Many of the expellees had therefore to revise their plans. Soon after the announcement was made Britain guaranteed the entrance of 3,000 Ugandan Asians, all of whom had applied for entry before 4 August 1972. For a few weeks, till the exodus actually began, many Asians did not know what their final destination would be. The fate of many of them was unclear also because it was not known what assets they would be allowed to take with them. It was evident, though, that they would not be able to take all their belongings with them, even if they sold their homes and businesses. They were obliged to register their property and businesses but they also hoped that the

registration would, eventually, help them to reclaim these. Other Asians either made arrangements with friends, European or Ugandan, to transfer money to foreign banks, or simply tried to smuggle cash or precious items as they left (Madmani, 1973).

Meanwhile, the British government decided to create the Uganda Resettlement Board (URB), a body which would be endowed with the task of resettling the expellees, and the Home Secretary publicly announced this decision on 18 August 1972 (Cunningham, 1973). On 24 August 1972, Sir Charles Cunningham was appointed chair-person of this body, and arrangements were made to receive the families at arrival points and to provide them with temporary accommodation, mainly in military bases.

The Board, in addition, was responsible for the dispersal of the arrivals, whose number was then estimated at between 50,000 and 60,000. Its intention to persuade the arrivals to go to areas not under pressure in housing, education and social services caused much controversy. These areas counted by the Board as 'green' areas, as opposed to the 'problematic', 'red' areas (Kuepper and others, 1975)[12].

In practice, the Board intended to divert the expellees from settling in predominantly Asian areas, such as Leicester. The interest of the Board, in this particular case, coincided with that of those local authorities which had large Asian population. The city of Leicester, for example, which had the largest number of Asians outside London, purchased in a Kampala paper an advertisement to urge Asians to settle elsewhere in Britain (Kuepper and

others, 1975:74). The Asian community in Leicester opposed the attempt to disperse Asians. An Asian leader, Harban Singh Ratoo, who was the vicechairperson of the British Asian Welfare Society, presented Sir Charles Cunningham with a list of 100 job vacancies in Leicester ("The Times", 6 September 1972).

The dispersal did not proceed as the Board initially envisaged, for various reasons. There were a number of guidelines which the Board attempted to follow and not all of them were compatible. First, according to Cunningham's own account (1973), the Board wanted expellees to settle where both accommodation and employment were to be found. Yet housing was sometimes available where employment was not, and vice versa. Second, the Board had no control over expellees who made their own arrangements, in particular those who did not enter the Resettlement Centres. About 6,000 expellees made no use of the Board's facilities and a further 11,000 made but short stays in the Resettlement Centres (CRC, 1974). About 75 per cent of the Asians settled by the Board were sent to dispersal areas, but 85 per cent of the self settling Asians moved to areas with a high concentration of Asians. Hence, only 8,250 persons were sent to dispersal areas.

The expellees received a mixed reception. The close collaboration of the Board with voluntary organisations (for example, the Women's Royal Voluntary Service) probably softened the reception which involved (as Cunningham himself confessed), a rather cumbersome procedure. As Asians landed on British soil, some faced shouting of

abuse. On one occasion about three hundred members of right-wing organisations gathered in Heathrow. They held banners and called the airport workers to refuse to handle flights from East Africa. Though the police carried the demonstrators away from the terminal ("The Times", 13 September 1972), such a response could not have remained unnoticed. It attested to the hostility that existed against Asians. The hostility was not confined to right-wing activists only. On 1 September 1972, Smithfield meat porters marched to Transport House to hand in a letter of protest to the Transport and General Workers Union, condemning the decision to allow entry to Asians. The Trade Union Council, however, did not support these statements, nor did any one of the political parties. As much as the government wished that the expellees would be settled outside Britain, it never denied its obligations towards them. Some members of Parliament, nevertheless, did vehemently object to the entrance of the expellees.

In a statement made on behalf of the far right Conservative Monday Club, Ronald Bell stated that "These so-called British Asiatics (emphasis mine) are no more no less British than any Indian in the bazaars of Bombay" ("The Times", 7 August 1972). The fact that these Asiatics were British passport holders made little difference to people who wanted Britain to remain a white island.

Notes (Introduction)

(1) The following outline of the history of East African Asians in the post independence years is based on the accounts of Ward and White (1981), Bharati (1972), Tandon and Raphael (1978), Kuepper and Others (1975), Ghai and Ghai (1970), Madmani (1973) and Melady and Melady (1976). Since these sources recount the same events there is no reference to single sources unless some numerical information is provided.

(2) Ghai and Ghai (1970) and Melady and Melady (1976) comment that prior to the establishment of India and Pakistan, people from the Indian subcontinent were called Indians. The term Asian was coined in East Africa after 1947.

(3) The dispossessed Ugandan Asians are described here as expellees, rather than as refugees. According to the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees a refugee is:

> any person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted... is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (quoted from D'Souza, 1980).

No British passport holder in Uganda could therefore be qualified as refugee.

(4) This is the number of people born in the New Commonwealth, and includes Asians holding British passports. The following figures further illustrate the sharp rise in the number of Asians in the Borough of Harrow: the number of Asian electors on the 1970 Electoral Roll was 1,532. By 1974, the figure was 5,563. This figure almost doubled by 1978, when the number of Asian electors was 10,693 (figures provided by Harrow's Department of Architecture and Planning).

(5) The word community is used, throughout the thesis, to refer to people living in one place, district or country. It does not imply, however, that a community is in any sociological sense a group (on the use made by other authors of this term, see the following chapter).

(6) The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 subjected some Commonwealth citizens to immigration controls. It applied also to colonial citizens, that is, to citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies whose passports were issued not by the United Kingdom government or overseas representatives but by

colonial authorities. Immigrants seeking entry to take up employment had to obtain a voucher issued by the Ministry of Labour before entering the United Kingdom. Immigration officers, for the first time, had the power to question and refuse admission to Commonwealth citizens, such as East African Asians (Commission for Racial Equality, 1985).

(7) This figure includes the population resident in the UK and born in India to Indian born parents (293,080) and also the population born in the UK to Indian born parents (73,910). The figure also includes the population resident in the UK and born in Africa to Indian born parents (1,440).

(8) Under part 2(1) of the 1971 Immigration Act, a person is to have the right to abode in the United Kingdom if -

(a) he is a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies who has that citizenship by his birth, adoption, naturalisation or (except as mentioned below) registration in the United Kingdom or in any of the Islands; or

(b) he is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies born to or legally adopted by a parent who had that citizenship at the time of the birth or adoption, and the parent either -

(i) then had that citizenship by his birth, adoption, naturalisation or (except as mentioned below) registration in the United Kingdom or in any of the Islands; or

(ii) had been born to or legally adopted by a parent who at the time of that birth or adoption so had it; or

(c) he is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies who has at any time been settled in the United Kingdom and islands and had at that time (and whole such a citizen) been ordinarily resident there for the last five years or more; or

(d) he is a Commonwealth citizen born to or legally adopted by a parent who at the time of the birth or adoption had citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies by his birth in the United Kingdom or in any of the Islands.

Under part 2(2) of this act a woman is to have the right to abode in the United Kingdom if she is a Commonwealth citizen and either -

(a) is the wife of any such citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies as is mentioned in subsection (1)(a), (b) or (c) above or any such Commonwealth citizen as is mentioned in subsection (1)(d); or

(b) has at any time been the wife -

(i) of a person then being such a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies or Commonwealth citizen; or

(ii) of a British subject who but for his death would on the date of commencement of the British Nationality Act 1948 have been such a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies as is mentioned in subsection (1)(a) or (b);

(9) Since the Immigration Act 1971 came into force (on 1 January 1973), the practice to be followed in the administration of the Act was set out in the Immigration Rules which were laid before Parliament by the Home Secretary. These rules were not part of the Act itself and were not necessarily debated by Parliament (The Runnymede Trust and The Radical Statistics Race Group, 1980:35).

(10) The Commission for Racial Equality investigated the administration of the immigration system because it suspected that eligible people for settling in the UK had been excluded from entry. In its report it recommended a shift in administrative priorities towards greater emphasis on the right of those eligible to settle in the UK.

(11) The existence of a 'red list' was first made known to the public by the "Sunday Times" (17 September 1986) and was headed, so the paper alleged, by Leicester, Birmingham, Bradford, Ealing, Wandsworth and Brent. The URB neither confirmed nor denied the existence of such list.
One of its members, Praful Patel, said: "We have always made it clear that it was our aim to persuade these newcomers to keep away from certain over-crowded areas. But there is no question of harassment, this will be voluntary persuasion and advice" ("Sunday Times", 17 September 1986).

CHAPTER 1

GUJARATIS IN BRITAIN

This chapter will attempt to explain the background against which a study was made of the Gujarati community in Harrow.

It begins with a description of the Borough in which Gujarati migrants settled and explains the reasons for examining the role of the local authority in relation to the Asian population, and also explores the major features of the East African Asian migration, those which characterize the migration of Gujaratis to Britain in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The chapter then discusses the theoretical approach adopted by scholars who studied Gujaratis in Britain, and specifies some of the conclusions that they reached. This is followed by a brief statement of the general theoretical framework employed in this study. The last section of this chapter summarizes what may be seen as the evolution of one particular Gujarati settlement. The following chapters elaborate and expand on the issues to which this chapter points.

Appendix I examines changes of food habits, those which have taken place in the course of migration and settlement. First, it was thought that changes in the area of food were indicative of the way in which Gujaratis chose to adapt to life in Britain. Second, the attitudes of the majority towards this cultural aspect provided yet another perspective of the relationships between the minority and

the indigenous majority. These attitudes are not always overt and openly spelt out, and it was therefore decided to discern them from food behaviour, rather than extract them from statements made either by Gujarati or non-Gujarati people. Being an area which is fundamental to so many kinds of social relationships, it was expected that such an examination would further enhance the understanding of the multiple relationships between the minority and the majority.

1.1 The Borough of Harrow

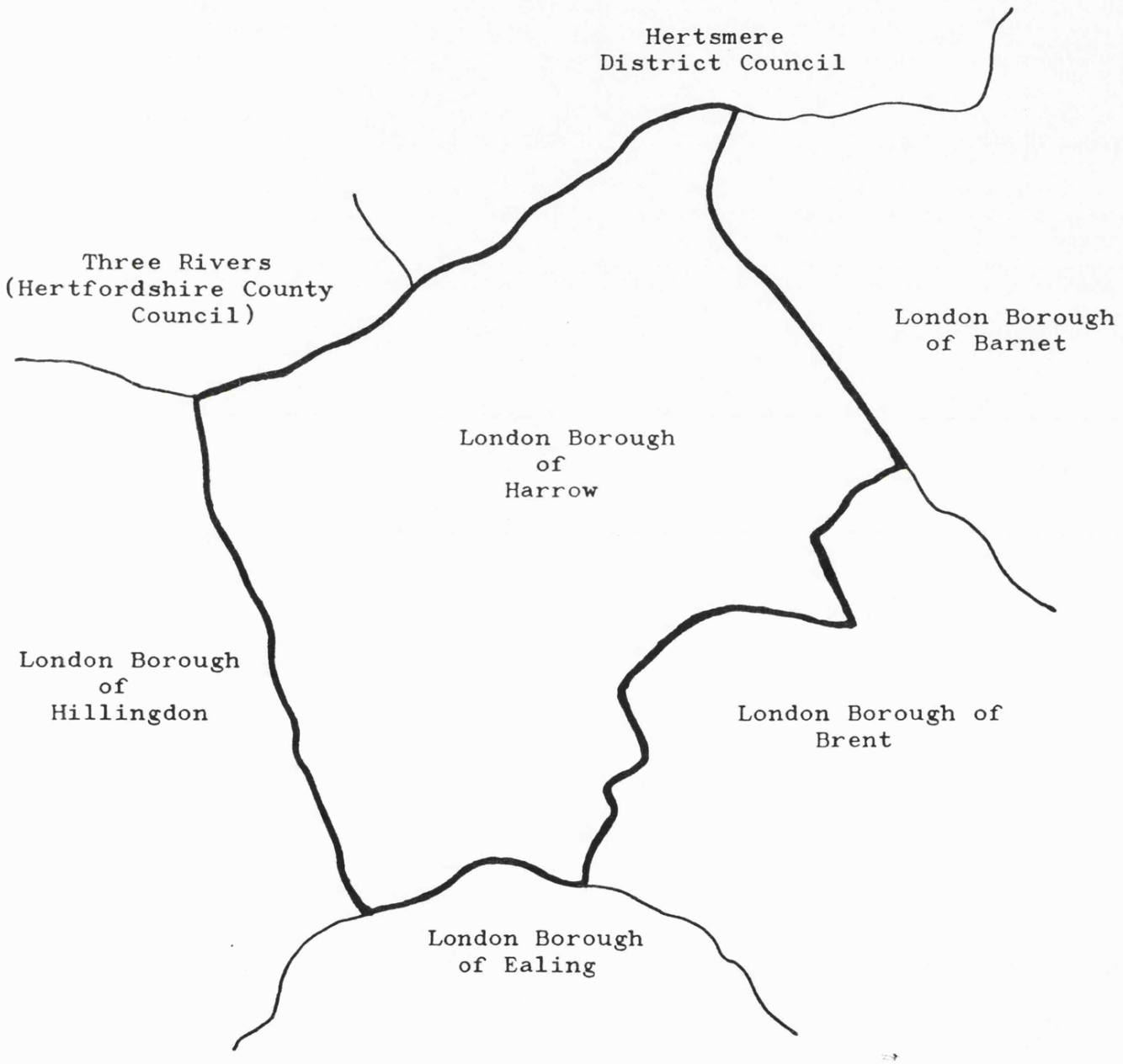
The majority of Gujaratis in Harrow settled in the Borough in the years following the Ugandan expulsion. About 1,500 expellees arrived in Harrow during the months after the expulsion, the largest number of expellees to have settled in a single London Borough after the Boroughs of Brent (3,000) and Ealing (1,879). Outside London, Leicester received the largest number of expellees, a total of 5,600 (CRC, 1974).

The arriving Gujaratis settled in a Borough whose population had remained at about 200,000 persons since the 1950s. The 1971 Census for Harrow recorded 69,950 households. Only 3,230 residents out of the 203,215 were not in private households. The numbers of residents born in the New Commonwealth, in the Irish Republic and in other countries and at sea were 7,975, 6,465 and 7,600 respectively.

Harrow is situated in north west London, close to the rural areas of Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. In the east it borders on the Borough of Barnet, in the south on

Map 1

London Borough of Harrow - Boundaries



Brent and in the west on Hillingdon. Its boundaries have remained intact during the reorganisation of the London Boroughs, following the London Government Act 1963. Out of the 32 Boroughs created after the establishment of the Greater London Council, only Harrow's boundaries remained unchanged. Today its Council has 63 members. There are 21 electoral wards and since 1982 the Borough is divided into two Parliamentary Constituencies, Harrow East and Harrow West. Previously the Borough was divided into three Parliamentary Constituencies.

In 1982, shortly before this study was undertaken, there were an estimated 75,000 dwellings in the Borough, 9,000 of which were owned by the Council. Approximately 57,000 dwellings were owner-occupied and the remainder were owned by private landlords or Housing Associations (the figures for the 1980s are all taken from the Borough's official guide). By far the most common type of property to be found in Harrow was the semi-detached private house built between the wars. Asians settled mainly in the southern wards of the Borough, where property prices were lower, but since the earlier 1970s some Asians moved to the more prestigious areas. The majority of Asians, like the majority of the population, are owner occupiers (Shaw, 1982).

In the 1980s, one of the top priorities of Harrow Council was to provide housing for the elderly. An attempt was made to match provision with demand, which considerably increased during the 1970s due to a rise in the number of pensioners in the Borough. This rise, which was the most notable change in the age structure of the Borough's population, was reflected by a growth of one pensioner households

from 6,675 to 9,264 (London Borough of Harrow, 1983-1984). By 1984, due to a strategy designed to allay this housing problem, the number of applicants for one bedroom accommodation considerably decreased. With regard to homelessness, after a slight fall in the number of homeless people in the Borough during the early 1980s, the number of applicants increased and reached almost a thousand by 1984. About a quarter of the applicants were permanently rehoused.

Also, in the 1980s, the Borough attempted to attract new industries to its industrial sites. While emphasizing its commitment to preserving the semi-rural character of the Borough (cf. Harrow - Focus on a Developing Future), the Council evidently wished to attract both industries and businesses. Some of the largest employers during the 1970s, such as HMSO and Kodak, either moved out of the Borough or reduced the number of their employees. The Council therefore presented competitive rates to companies in the commercial centres and the shopping areas of the Borough. This was intended to increase the number of residents working in the Borough and also to reduce unemployment. In the beginning of the 1980s, 38 per cent of the available workforce were employed inside the Borough, with less than 20 per cent engaged in manufacturing and manual work.

Hence, the Gujaratis settled in an area which was undergoing some major demographic changes during the 1970s. Its elderly population increased considerably during this period, while the number of school age children decreased. The migrants who came to the Borough, though much younger, did not reverse this trend. During this period the Borough

Council encountered growing difficulties in generating employment locally, a process which meant - apart from growing unemployment - that the Borough itself became the largest single employer in the area. In addition, during the 1970s, the majority, Conservative party, had to face the task of keeping pace with inflation without raising the rates. Although at general elections the support for the Conservatives remained unchallenged, Labour won the 1971 local elections and were for the next 3 years the majority party on the Council. When the Conservatives returned to power in 1974 they decided to implement major cuts.

In summer 1975, shortly after the government's white paper, "Attack on Inflation" was published, the Policy and Resources Committee of the Council began to revise its spending. Whereas local residents were all in favour of rates reduction, it was clear that such an exercise would force the Council not only to freeze the appointment of staff, but also to cut vulnerable areas such as Social Services. Eventually the 1975 Rate Support Grant, with a generous new distribution for London, came to Harrow's rescue, and the Council decided not to go forward with the cuts ("Municipal Review", 1976).

Since the end of the 1970s the support for the Liberal/SDP alliance grew considerably, and though the Conservative are still the majority party, they only narrowly held on to power in the 1986 local elections. From 1 Liberal Councillor in the end of the 1970s, the Liberal/SDP alliance progressed to 18 in the last elections (May 1986), and are therefore ahead of the Labour party, which now has

9 Councillors. The Conservative party, with 3 councillors, now has a majority of only one seat (out of a total of 63 councillors, rate payers' candidates won 4 seats in the Council).

It should by now have become apparent that as Harrow possesses certain characteristics, i.e. a particular socio-economic make-up of the population, available housing and job opportunities, a study of a specific segment of its population can be carried out within a well-defined set of parameters. In comparison to a study which spans the geographical boundaries of the State, a study of a smaller administrative unit is likely to provide opportunity for a closer examination of the motives for settling in a specific locality; there is less diversity in terms of the period of settlement, circumstances of arrival, and possibly in terms of the social and economic aspirations of the migrants.

Also, in order to better comprehend the background against which this settlement took place, it is necessary to take into account the economic and political situation which Asians faced on arriving in Britain, and the specific pattern of migration which typified the East African Asians.

Asian newcomers in the late 1960s and early 1970s were confronted with a deteriorating economy and by a growing resentment towards their arrival (Jones, 1977). They arrived in a period when job opportunities became scarce, a decade after free immigration of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers to Britain had ceased. Kenyan Asians, who arrived in 1967 and 1968, found employment within a short period, though many had to take jobs below their ability

and experience. When Ugandan Asians arrived, a shortage of jobs existed at least in some areas where they wished to settle (Little and Toynbee, 1972). The economic prospects that awaited Asian immigrants might ordinarily have deterred them from settling in Britain. But economic prospects in India were even less attractive, and in any case settling there would have forced East African Asians to give up their British citizenship. Besides, settling in Britain did not bar the option of migrating again, to India or to other countries. As was mentioned in the introduction although many Asians were hesitant to leave East Africa, they realized that it was no longer a place where their livelihood could be assumed as certain. In summary, Britain provided the best economic prospects at the time, to which these migrants could aspire.

The East African pattern of migration was quite different from that which had characterized Asian migration previously. This pattern of migration, together with the socio-political conditions described above, are two major factors which directed Asians to specific geographical areas and also shaped the communities which they formed. The majority of East African Asians came as whole family units, and arrived with the intention of remaining. Some arrived with enough assets to purchase their own homes, and were willing to take jobs below their qualifications and work experience, or that generated an income much lower than they had initially expected (cf. Shaw, 1982). Bhachu (1985) rightly observed that the East African pattern of migration was responsible for the rapid establishment of new migrant communities. That is, the fact that families were united

upon settling provided an incentive to establish communal institutions. Unlike earlier Asian migrants the new arrivals did not remit their wages, and families often had at their disposal the income of more than one member.

In addition, with regard to communal institutions, since the Asian community in Harrow is one of the most recently established Asian settlements in London, its Gujarati residents used services provided in close proximity to Harrow. Geographically, the pool of potential members for most social and other functions includesthe area of Brent, a Borough with a substantial Asian population. Hence, for numerous social and cultural activities the administrative divisions in London have little effect on the communal relationships of Asians.

Nonetheless, since this study of Gujaratis was confined to certain geographical boundaries, and ones which constituted a single administrative unit, it was essential to look into the relationships between the Gujarati settlers and the local authority. There were a number of reasons, as was indicated earlier, that necessitated such an examination.

First, local residents might address their grievances to the Council. They expect the Council, as well as the local MPs, to be attentive to their problems. The relationships which indigenous citizens establish with the ethnic community are therefore reflected in the response both of the Council and the MPs.

Second, local government is an agency of the State and implements its policies affecting ethnic minorities in

Britain. Hence, the relationships between a minority and the local Council, the elected government of the Borough, are symptomatic of those between ethnic minorities and the State. As these relationships are well documented, they provide an easily accessible source of data. These relationships also have an informal aspect (described in chapter 3 as 'the Hidden Agenda') which is crucial to a full understanding of the Gujarati community and its position in the wider community.

Third, local authorities in Britain had been assigned to the role of allocating resources to British citizens originating in the New Commonwealth during the 1960s, when the Local Government Act 1966 came into force. Under Section 11 of this Act[1] the Home Office was authorised to give grants to local authorities with immigrant population exceeding 2 per cent of the total. Later, the Local Government Grants (Social Need) Act 1969 imposed on local authorities (at first, on a selected number of them) the obligation to better look after the needs of ethnic minorities. This Act was passed a year after Harold Wilson, the then Prime Minister, announced the Urban Aid Programme[2]. In the following years the nature of these schemes changed considerably, both in terms of the scale of funding and in relation to requirements for eligibility. One feature of these schemes, as Young (1983) pointed out, was that they were compensatory programmes aimed at geographical areas, rather than at groups. Hence they tended to generate internal disputes between residents and local authorities. And, apart from the fact that the provisions mentioned above were always marginal to main

stream funding, there was, to use his phrase, "a notable lack of agreement on the legitimacy of using either scheme to the specific benefit of black populations" (1983:288). Jones adds, in this context, that "the emphasis all along has been for central government to play-down rather than play-up the long-term significance of the Urban Programme" (1977:182).

In practice, though the funding of both schemes came from central government, local authorities were left to process the applications and consequently became more involved in what might be termed 'the administration of race relations' (see chapter 3). By assigning each application to a certain grade of priority, the authorities could effectively censor applications which they did not favour, but felt obliged to submit. Local authorities therefore attracted more pressure, exerted both by ethnic and indigenous lobbies. Young adds, in this context, that the ambiguity of the Urban Programme proved an asset, for riots in black areas re-awakened the government's interest and led to the directing of additional resources to riot-affected areas. Other areas, however, did not benefit from this renewed interest.

Finally, local authorities exercise their own discretion in various services which they deliver. In the field of education, for example, although the Secretary of State is required to promote the education of the people, in practice local education authorities (LEAs) are given a substantial measure of autonomy (Byrne, 1981). This

applies also to the education provided to ethnic minorities. Kirp argues that, as a result, considerable variation exists between different education authorities:

> There has been no visible effort by the DES to impose its preference for language instruction on local authorities: this too is generally with DES policy. As a result of the laissez faire policy, there remained profound variation in both program content and local support, as reflected in the amount of Local Government Act moneys requested by different communities (1979:44).

By comparing Harrow and Derby, Kirp reveals that each enrolled about 8,000 pupils classified as "New Commonwealth Immigrants", but that in 1975 the former secured less than 50 pence of Section 11 money for each child in that category, whereas the latter secured 50 times as much. This is but one example which illustrates the variation that exists between services provided by different local authorities.

In view of all the reasons listed above, this study has examined certain policies and their implementation by one local authority.

1.2 Studying Asian Migrants - Different Approaches

The recognition that Asians are a differentiated category comprising possibly more than one ethnic group coincided with a certain view of the attributes that qualified migrant settlers to be called an ethnic group.

The bulk of the research carried out in Britain tended to aggregate all South Asian minorities together, alongside West Indians and 'others' when such issues as

health (for example, H. Lobo, 1978) or education (for example, Parekh, 1983) were examined. The fact that official statistics enumerated British citizens in accordance with the categories above facilitated and probably encouraged research studies to follow suit (cf. Robinson, 1986:178). Brown (1984), for example, in presenting the Policy Studies Institute's survey, acknowledges that the definitions employed in this particular survey matched closely those used by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

Studies such as those mentioned above often took a 'social problem' approach, whereby differences between Asian minorities were not perceived to be significant in the matter of, for example, health or performance in education. Their raison d'être was that immigrants generally performed worse than the indigenous population. Subsequently, either scholars or the minorities concerned demanded that additional resources be invested for alleviation of these social problems.

This approach would not run counter to an assertion that within the Asian population, in this case, there are minorities that possess the sociological qualifications to be considered as distinct ethnic groups.

Relatively few studies on Gujaratis in Britain have been published in comparison with those on Punjabis or Pakistani minorities (Pakistanis, for example, have been studied by Anwar, 1979; Dahya, 1974; Rex and Moore, 1967; Saifulla Khan, 1977 and Werbner, 1979). Gujaratis emerged in research studies under various titles. At times they

were classified as Hindus (O'Keefe, 1980), East African Asians (Shaw, 1982) or, simply, as Ugandan expellees (Kuepper and others, 1975). The view which such studies adopted (sometimes implicitly) was that any segment of the Asian population in Britain was an ethnic group. For example, Kuepper and others asserted that Indians and Pakistanis comprised a "visible South Asian ethnic group" (1975:12). Presumably, all migrants from South Asia belonged to one ethnic group (cf. Robinson, 1986:178).

The question of whether these social categories effectively constituted one or more ethnic groups was mostly examined vis-à-vis their cultural forms. Judging by studies referred to in the following paragraphs, ethnicity was by and large perceived as a cultural phenomenon and the cultural forms of the peoples studied were those associated with the home country. This kind of academic discourse assumes that migrants 'import' their culture, and that in the process of settling in a new country some cultural forms are substituted for others. This is also the process by which migrants become 'westernized' (cf. Michaelson, 1979) or 'anglicized' (Ballard and Ballard, 1977). Alternatively, when Asians exhibit, for example, religious orthodoxy, they are described as conservative (cf. Bhachu, 1984 and 1985). Nonetheless, Bhachu distinguishes between cultural conservatism and progressiveness in other spheres when describing the features of the culture of East African Sikhs in Britain.

I shall later return to this point, but first I would like to follow some of the studies made on immigrants, in particular those on Gujaratis.

groups' (sometimes using the two interchangeably), they did not define the social boundaries of these social categories. It was implicitly assumed that people born outside Britain were bound together in all-embracing ties. Moreover, this portrayal was by and large confined to coloured people, all of whom were regarded as belonging to ethnic groups. Also, the less visible the migrants were, the more diffuse their ethnic character became. Accordingly, there are no studies of white migrants such as those who come from, for example, South Africa. Ethnicity, thus, was superimposed on, mainly, non-white migrants. It was an all encompassing identity that no coloured person could escape.

As Zenner (1985), for instance, observes in his study of American Jews, being Jewish has become a matter of choice, and that - far from being purely a matter of descent (whereby a Jew is someone born to a Jewish mother) - it is an identification which combines numerous, sometimes even contradictory, elements. Therefore, there is a large number of people on the margin, either describing themselves as Jews but not recognized as such by other Jews or non-Jews, or denying their Jewishness and considered to be Jews by fellow-Jews and non-Jews.

Indeed, the choice to which Zenner refers does not exist in Britain. Yet being of Asian descent does not automatically assign people to an ethnic group. The following example in Bharati (1972) illustrates that an Asian tends to acquire a particular ethnic identity in the course of settlement in a new country.

Bharati pointed out that in East Africa second

generation Kutchi speaking Indians acquired the Gujarati language[3]. Their descendants in Britain now speak Gujarati (some still speak Kutchi) and may well be considered as Gujarati. Becoming Gujarati in Britain also means acquiring a certain dialect into which many English words have been incorporated (cf. Williams, 1984). A Gujarati visitor from India will thus immediately become conspicuous.

This example clearly illustrates that simply being of Gujarati descent is an insufficient prerequisite for being British-Gujarati, though the avenue for becoming a Gujarati is more likely to be open to people of Asian descent. Coming back to studies of Asian minorities, it should be noted that when discussing British born members of Asian communities, many scholars point to the differences that emerge between generations, often suggesting that - in view of the adaptation of the young generation to the British way of life - the ethnicity of the group should be re-examined. However, because ethnicity was also perceived as a response to racial discrimination (cf. Cohen, 1984-85), it was not thought that second-generation Asians were at risk of 'losing their identity'. Hence, ethnic affiliation or identity is not always taken for granted.

Thus by the 1970s Asians in Britain were no longer seen by academics to be sufficiently homogenous, as far as their culture was concerned, to be described as one social group. The Asians of the 1960s thus became the Gujaratis, Punjabis and the various Pakistani groups of the 1970s.

Lyon, for example, thought that geographically based differences which were significant went further than those earlier suggested by Desai, i.e people who came from South Gujarat were 'significantly different' from people who originate in Saurashtra (the Gujarati peninsula). He asserted that:

> A key feature of Indian settlement in Britain, without which their ethnicity can scarcely be understood, lies in the regional origins of the migrants. Immigrant ethnicity in general may be explained by home based cultural characteristics and ties, but for Indians the connection is particularly strong because of the particular process by which they have arrived (1972-73:5).

In addition, the ethnic character of Gujaratis was discerned by Lyon from the fact that they maintained 'traditional ethnic ties' with their respective region in Gujarat. Again, ethnicity was seen as an all embracing identification and any relationships or social activities were ultimately bound to be described as 'ethnic'.

Later studies also accorded Gujaratis a distinct identity on ground of cultural differences. Studying Gujaratis in Coventry, Tambs-Lyche reached the conclusion that they formed a community which:

> stands out as having an ethnic identity vis-à-vis the English based mainly upon 'religion' and 'culture' - by the latter concept I here mean such phenomena as garba dancing... The difference between these customs and those of the English are plainly visible (1980:290).

In other words, Tambs-Lyche suggests an opposition between westernisation, manifested here in English customs, and conservatism, which the garba dancing represents. Such an assertion clearly illustrates the absence of any notion of

a distinct new culture emerging out of the British experience. In this particular case, garba dancing, now held during the festival of Nauratri, serves new social functions, i.e introducing youngsters of marriageable age to one another.

The reliance on cultural forms as a major determinant of ethnic affiliation has presented some theoretical difficulties to scholars who observed that such differentiation existed. 'Asian' was no longer a meaningful category but Gujaratis too - having exhibited diverse modes of cultural behaviour - were no longer assumed to constitute one ethnic group.

A conference on Gujarati ethnicity, held in the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1984, drew further distinctions between various Gujarati castes and religious sects. The first speaker pointed out that previous studies of Gujaratis were grossly over-generalized:

> It is almost impossible to talk about the 'Gujaratis' in Britain as an undifferentiated category, since there are several points of cleavage which divide different groups of Gujaratis and which make co-operation between them minimal or difficult to achieve. It is difficult to talk about 'Gujarati culture', 'Gujarati identity' or even 'Gujarati ethnicity', given that there are such sharp differences of religion, language and orientation among the numerous small and distinct caste and sectarian groups within the population (Michaelson, 1984:2).

Hahlo (1980) solved the difficulty cited above by turning to self-identification. Since both Muslim and Hindu Gujaratis, he said, identified themselves as Gujaratis, there was no difficulty in assigning them to one ethnic group. Presumably, however, both Muslim and Hindu Gujaratis

see themselves as Asians, as much as in some situations they see themselves to be British. Hence, it is impossible to determine migrants' allegiances, let alone infer any attribute of their ethnicity, on the ground of self-identification alone.

The theoretical framework employed in this thesis suggests that, in relation to ethnic affiliation, cultural forms are significant only when they are transformed to communal relationships, ranging from relatively small social networks to well organized associations. The people who exhibit such patterns of interaction, where the maintenance of social relationships corresponds to the organisation of the social category are therefore described as an ethnic group. An ethnic group, in turn, is characterised by an articulation of strategies based on common symbols and ideologies shared by its members.

Cultural diversity, therefore, does not pose a problem such that is described above. Gujaratis, as will later become evident, may well be affiliated to different castes or religions, but these are unlikely to dictate entirely either their social life or their participation in cultural or religious events. These activities, nevertheless, may well be confined to Gujarati speaking people; but even there it is impossible to speak of exclusive networks or clear-cut boundaries. Such boundaries tend, in a modern society, to be diffused.

The fact that Asians were in the past treated as one homogenous category does not imply that recent studies are more correct when they observe cultural differentiation. It may well be that ethnic allegiances, over the course of

time, have changed. Nowadays, the existence of so many 'Indian' and 'Asian' associations does perhaps warrant an examination of Indian or even Asian ethnicity. Yet in view of the social networks of their members, it may well be found that the cleavages concerned are weak, or that, in fact, the members of at least some associations come from a particular region in India.

At any given moment, affiliation to a group necessitates some participation in the organisation or communal life of that group. Gujaratis whose social life is completely dissociated from their fellow Gujaratis need not belong to the common ethnic group. Indeed, they may well 'become' Gujarati, but they may also remain indifferent to the existence of the group for their entire life. Affiliation to the group, therefore, is in this instance a matter of choice and one which also depends on the acceptance of the individual concerned among fellow Gujaratis. In line with Zenner's observation, there are many Gujaratis on the margin, e.g. people who originate outside of Gujarat but speak Gujarati.

Prejudice and racial discrimination, as many scholars have pointed out (for example, Ballard and Ballard, 1977) may act as a cohesive force, but such an assertion should be carefully considered. First, prejudice of white Britons does not, on the whole, distinguish between Asian minorities and therefore does not enhance demarcation lines within the Asian population. Second, as Gellner (1983) clarified, discrimination does not equally bar all members of an ethnic minority from access to high status. Though these members have to invest greater efforts in improving their position,

there are always some who 'make it'. It thus follows that the influence of prejudice is not necessarily in the direction of greater cohesion.

As Thomas and Znaniecki pointed out long ago, in their seminal work on Polish migrants in America, it is practically impossible for any migrant group to replant itself in another country:

> ...the immigrant groups must sooner or later resort to reflective social activity, must supplement the spontaneous reproduction of old social forms by a new conscious organization (1958:1471).

What they found was the creation of a society whose structure and prevalent attitudes were neither Polish nor American. The "raw materials" [sic] from which this society was made drew both on Polish and American elements, but the result was identical to neither.

It is with this notion in mind that the Gujarati community in Harrow was examined.

1.3 The Gujarati Community in Harrow

The arrival of Gujaratis in Harrow entailed a certain measure of adjustment to a new and unfamiliar environment. Employment and secure tenure were evidently the two major areas with which the new arrivals were concerned. The local authority, being a provider of services, was on the institutional and bureaucratic end of this adjustment, and Gujaratis who were not proficient in English encountered difficulties which subsequently led to under-utilisation of the existing services.

It is impossible to validate, in retrospect, to what extent English tuition was required at the beginning of the

1970s. Making such a provision available, however, was - throughout the 1970s - a 'safe area'. That is, Gujaratis never criticized the various schemes of English tuition or the criteria which classified them as 'linguistically deficient'. They accepted that the definition of this need would be left, mainly, to the Local Education Authority.

Later, in the 1980s, Harrow admitted that:

> The initial response of the education system to the arrival of 'immigrant' children in schools in the late 1950s and early 1960s was to absorb them into the majority school population as quickly as possible (Harrow Education Department, 4 February 1986).

This comment appropriately attests to the way in which the arrival of Asian migrants was generally conceived. That is, Asian school children were regarded as 'immigrants' even if they were born in Britain.

To judge by the reception of the Ugandan expellees (described in detail in the following chapter), the arrival of Asians in Harrow was perceived as a threat. The expellees, as well as Asians who settled in the Borough in the following years, were unwanted citizens, subject to abuse either by the local authority or local citizens. Notwithstanding the restrictions imposed by immigration measures, which undoubtedly generated a sense of insecurity, the local response towards Asians was far from being favourable. The difficulties of the newcomers were considered as 'special' problems which further confirmed their being a liability, an unwanted appendage to the local population. As was mentioned above, Asian settlers were expected to assimilate, that is, acquire proficiency in the English

language and shed whatever traits and customs that could give rise to claims on ground of special needs. But then, if Asians were to integrate, it follows that they were to gain equal access to housing and employment and equally benefit from education, health and social services. In a situation where budgetary constraints were imposed on the Council and recession affecting the Borough, integration was difficult to achieve.

The local authority played an important role in the settlement of Gujaratis during the Ugandan expulsion, but - prior to 1972 - there was no official admission that their presence made any difference as far as the provision or the utilisation of services were concerned (cf. Little and Toynbee, 1972).

The following example illustrates this point. In the first ten year plan (1973/1974-1982/1983) of the Department of Social Services in Harrow (the report was filed in response to DHSS circular 35/72, dated 31 August 1972), despite an acknowledgement of the growing number of Asians in the Borough, no special provision was considered necessary. In view of the fact that Harrow had just received the Ugandan expellees, some provision, or a consideration of provision, would have been expected and mentioned. A decade later, the Annual Report of the Borough (1983-1984) pointed out that:

> The Community in Harrow has changing needs. Falling school roles, a rapid increase in the numbers of elderly people and issues of adjustments to a multi-cultural society are among the changes to which services have to be responsive (emphasis mine).

During the first few years following their settlement, Gujaratis were preoccupied with establishing themselves economically, and in this respect their behaviour resembles that of migrants elsewhere (cf. Eisenstadt, 1976; Epstein, 1978). The preoccupation with fulfilling these needs, so vital to a sense of security and stable existence, means that Gujaratis put little effort in reasoning their relationships with the wider community. Putting individual needs aside, the first priority of the Gujarati population, as a collectivity, was to construct, however loosely, a communal structure. There were festivals to organize and temples to establish and attend; and there were people who were prepared to launch such endeavours.

Support given by relatives and friends attracted them to places already settled by Gujaratis or areas in close proximity to such settlements. The proximity to the Asian population in the adjacent areas thus meant that Gujaratis used most of the services provided there at the time. Relatives who accommodated the newcomers also facilitated their introduction to various aspects of life in Britain. In the economic sphere, the task of their social networks had a double role.

First, the settlement of Gujaratis encouraged the emergence of 'internal' businesses. Shops opened in Harrow to provide commodities which Gujaratis and other Asians consumed. Grocery shops were started practically in every area where Gujaratis resided, in Kenton, Wealdstone and in other places. Sari shops, hardware and jewellery stores, though fewer in number, were also opened. This trend

continued into the 1980s, when more such businesses opened, until eventually their number reached saturation. In the 1980s a number of shops had to close down.

Second, the congregation within certain geographical areas was of assistance to Gujarati entrepreneurs who wished to start new businesses. Gujaratis establishing businesses are usually certain to attract Gujarati clientele. Thus, whether a Harrow Gujarati seeks to service a car or buy an insurance scheme, relatives and friends always provide information on Gujarati-owned businesses that supply such services and commodities.

Gradually, channels of such information have been established by Gujarati newspapers. Advertisements of Gujarati-owned businesses have later begun to appear also in sectional publications designated for smaller readership, e.g caste members. A "Gujarat Samachar" publication, for example, ("Gujaratis in Business in Britain", 1985) was a comprehensive guide to all entrepreneurs who wished either to start new businesses or join existing ones, and also to clients who wished to use services provided by other Gujaratis.

The advent of new channels of information indicate that Gujaratis, while using opportunities that exist locally, attempt to maximise their economic opportunities. They do not rely solely on the information provided close at hand but establish professional associations where they regularly meet colleagues, exchange information and seek partners for new ventures. It can therefore be said that dependence on kith and kin, typical of the early 1970s, had considerably diminished by the early 1980s.

It should be added, nevertheless, that clients too benefit from interacting in the economic sphere. They often receive quicker service, or are rewarded for their loyalty by special rates.

Most of the arriving Gujaratis, however, were economically independent of their fellow Gujaratis. In Harrow they were mostly professionals or skilled labourers, though some were semi-skilled and unskilled labourers (cf. Shaw, 1982). They were therefore highly dependent on the demand for a wide variety of professions and occupations, and thus were vulnerable and sensitive to changes in the labour market.

Some of the associations established during the 1970s were local branches of national associations, i.e super-territorial organisations (cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958). Some of these local branches, for example, that of the Lohanas' caste, covered areas larger than Harrow, and Harrow Gujaratis commuted to neighbouring areas to participate in functions held by these associations. There was little in the nature of these associations that suggested correspondence to any administrative boundaries. This assertion applies equally, though in a lesser extent, to some of the locally based associations.

Women's associations, for example, emerged locally simply as a matter of convenience. That is, organizing social activities locally saved time and effort. Some of these activities have remained within close-knit social networks, where new members were introduced by old ones. In Harrow both Pakistani and Gujarati women established

associations intended for larger membership, to enable them (at least initially) to launch new activities and social events. Some informal women's groups have, nonetheless, remained as close informal networks of women who also assist each other in day-to-day chores, e.g caring for children. The fact that the associations were locally based was, as their members later found out, a sufficient ground for demanding resources.

Establishing associations, of whatever kind, clearly demarcates a new phase in the emergence of the community. It introduces new channels of communication that break the encapsulation of the small and informal social networks. It provides access to the wider society, whether through the media or via social functions intended for all interested people. Indeed, many functions organized by associations in Harrow attempted to involve non-members, often in the name of cutting cultural boundaries.

Forming associations, thus, necessitates a certain measure of ideological articulation. As long as social activities are confined to informal networks, there is little need to spell out aims, target populations, or write elaborate constitutions to create formal procedures, e.g electing a president.

Most of the Gujarati associations in Harrow were established on these lines and many emphasized the intention to reach the wider society. Hence, they sought to publicize their activities, make contacts with other associations and wished to be affiliated to such organisations as the local Community Relations Council, and later

to Council committees. This mould indicates the aspirations of the Gujarati community which have, by and large, remained unchanged. Rather than trying to assimilate, Gujaratis gradually began to re-define their allegiances and in particular their role and position within the wider community. The reference to the society 'out there' is a clear indication that a new and distinct British-Gujarati identity was in the making, and that they wished to define it in their own terms. The fact that non-Gujaratis were often invited to their social and cultural events, e.g. inauguration of a Gujarati community centre, shows that Gujaratis did not perceive the maintenance of a certain measure of exclusiveness as something which posed a threat to the wider society or was contradictory to their 'Britishness'. On the contrary, it portrayed them, so they thought, as a resourceful community that, while pulling its own resources (rather than relying on State assistance) to establish its own institutions, was also prepared to share its wealth with society at large.

During the 1970s, only one Asian association applied for resources, but the application was turned down. One project that was designed to cater for the needs of Asians was approved, but the association which ran the project was not founded by Asians (see p.29). Though this funding was available (though, not always easily accessible) since the late 1960s, Harrow was never thought to be a priority area as far as Urban Aid was concerned. In 1981 another project was approved, and subsequently an Asian community centre was established. The main area where funding for ethnic projects was sought, during the 1970s, was in the field of

education. Section 11 money and Urban Aid were given by central government towards alleviating 'linguistic needs'. These, apparently, were the two main sources of funding which the Council used to create provisions for the ethnic community.

Part-time classes for adults in English as a second language were first set up in 1971 by the General Studies Department, Harrow College of Further Education. Neighbourhood English Classes, a north London based charity, successfully applied in 1975 for Urban Aid to establish a Home Tuition Scheme. From 1978 onwards, Section 11 money substituted for resources which were previously allocated from mainstream budget provision. In addition to Section 11 funding and Urban Aid, the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) set up a preparatory course for 'work related language training for the unemployed'. The proliferation of English classes does not indicate that more tuition was necessary. The need was probably much greater in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The fact that the State made resources available is probably the most important factor in this development.

The 1970s also saw the rise of multiculturalism, a term interchangably used alongside multiracialism. The message of multiculturalism was that Britain was no longer a 'monocultural' but rather a pluralistic society, enriched by the arrival of immigrants.

The Commission for Racial Equality funded a new scheme in Harrow, in which Indian music was taught in one of the local schools. A wide range of multicultural events were organized locally, many of which were initiated by the

Harrow Community Relations Council (Harrow CRC).

Such events took place alongside some organized by Gujaratis, mainly events related to Hindu festivals. Organizers of such events claimed the allegiance of Gujaratis to their heritage, suggesting that participation reaffirmed their identity as Gujaratis. Events which drew thousands of Gujaratis were difficult to organize, as space was not always made available. The problem of space was particularly acute with regard to the setting up of language classes. Up to 1985 Harrow Council gave little or no assistance to ethnic associations, as it did not perceive the teaching of mother tongue as a valid need. Yet the teaching of mother tongues continued to proliferate, as if the ethnic minorities wished to balance the attempt to assimilate them, by means of introducing them to the kind and quality of the English language which their hosts perceived as the most appropriate, and which presumably was a ticket to acquiring a better position in the British society.

Gujaratis were first of all concerned that their children would lose the asset which gave them access to Gujarati culture and tradition, and which they shared with their kin in Gujarat. More than they wished their children to study the Gujarati language for the amorphous aim of group preservation, the Gujaratis cherished the hope that their children would not intermarry with non-Gujaratis. Socializing Gujarati youth into the existing close-knit social networks was also designed to ensure that children would assist their parents later in life. Otherwise, the

latter would be left with the assistance provided by the State. Apart from the fact that many Gujaratis think of the extended family as the family, the insecurity which they share and the hostility which they experience lead them to look for support in the closer milieu.

The discontent which Gujaratis, as well as other Asians, began to express in the early 1980s, was only partly related to the general insensitivity of Harrow Council. The resources involved in mother tongue teaching were relatively small, and each minority was capable of pulling resources to organize classes. Asians in Harrow expressed their objection to what seemed to be a well designed strategy to prevent them from equal access to the workforce of the Borough, by far the largest local single employer (see p. 87). Once the Council of Harrow issued an Equal Opportunity policy, expectations mounted that it would become a blue-print for the Council's policy. This policy statement, issued in 1980, was also intended to eliminate sex discrimination, in accordance with the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. Yet it was widely believed, both by the Council and by the ethnic community, that the major issue with which this policy was concerned was racial discrimination. The fact that the brief of the Equal Opportunities adviser, subsequently appointed by the Council, was "to develop positive initiatives for the implementation of the Council's Equal Opportunities policy with particular emphasis on employment practices in relation to the minority ethnic communities" further certifies that this statement was effectively addressed to the ethnic community.

The policy statement legitimized the concerns of the ethnic community with regard not only to equal access to jobs but also equal access to services. The two were inevitably linked, for - in order to better cater for the needs of ethnic minorities - it was thought that the appointment of personnel from the ethnic community, e.g in the Social Services Department, would improve these services vis-à-vis the ethnic community. Yet the Council had to obtain resources in order to appoint additional personnel, and the existing provisions from central government could no longer satisfy the ethnic community. Outside the field of education, only a few appointments were made that could be classified in the category of making services more responsive. In order to avoid more pressure from the ethnic community the Council attempted to postpone ethnic monitoring. Though a decision to conduct ethnic monitoring was taken in 1982, a survey of the Council's workforce took three years to complete.

By then, the ethnic community was well aware that this exercise alone would not considerably alter the ethnic make-up of the Council's workforce or the nature of the services provided to them. Furthermore, the ethnic community was completely disillusioned and lost faith in the different initiatives of the Council. The various committees which the Council set up in order to consult its ethnic community were, by the mid-1980s, perceived as 'window dressing'. They were seen as misleading attempts to divert the ethnic community from what its members saw as pressing needs, e.g providing vegetarian meals for the elderly.

There was never a unanimous agreement within the Asian community on the specific actions that the Council was expected to take, and the Council was well aware of the rifts within the Asian community. Racial abuse and harassment were among the few issues where all Asians agreed on the measures that were required to eliminate the problem and sought the co-operation of the Council. Otherwise, disagreement was the norm. Gujaratis and Pakistanis exchanged accusations, but disagreement existed as much in their respective communities as existed between them.

The developments which took place in Harrow were not completely in the hands of the Council. In 1976 the Race Relations Act imposed on local authorities the obligation to eliminate racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity. Various local authorities followed with policy statements, each declaring its intention to remove discriminatory practices. Ethnic monitoring, designed to expose discriminatory practices in the selection of personnel, subsequently followed the policy statements.

The response of Harrow Council gave rise to the creation of a new type of association. These were small associations founded on the pretext of fighting racism. They were not exclusively Gujarati associations, though the majority of activists were Gujarati. Alongside the older, e.g caste, associations which were represented on Harrow CRC and used its platform to put pressure on the Council, a wide cross-section of Asian delegates now sought ways and means of exerting influence on Harrow Council.

These delegates were dissatisfied with the use of central government funds which, so they held, ultimately marginalized the ethnic community. Again, no general agreement on the use of this or other funding was ever sustained.

The debate between the Council and Asian delegates, which started in the 1980s, has continued into 1986, when this study was completed. Some of these delegates, in particular those belonging to the new associations, entertained new aspirations. They hoped that in due course they would be incorporated into the Borough's workforce in some capacity that was related to the 'race relations industry', e.g Equal Opportunities adviser. Some aspired to a political career and later, in 1986, looked for a seat on the Council. Yet others were less concerned with power-related benefits and were genuinely concerned with the welfare of Asians in the Borough.

The picture that has now begun to emerge is that of intensified relationships with the Council, where the latter is being portrayed as an enemy, a bureaucracy conspiring to minimize influence of citizens who are treated as second rate. Yet these hostile relationships have not contributed to cohesion in the Gujarati community. Most Gujarati associations continued with their normal activities unhindered, and their memberships remained unaware of the debate. Nonetheless, this intensification probably demarcates the beginning of a new phase in the maturation of the Gujarati community.

The intensification provided first hand introductions to local politics. Within the space of less than five years,

Gujaratis fully explored the avenues leading to the corridors of power in politics. Many activists were already members of political parties and were therefore well aware that the three major political parties wished to present at least a few 'ethnic' candidates on their lists. Four Asians, however, ran in the 1986 elections to the Council as independent candidates.

This stage has to be carefully examined, as it has been suggested by scholars (cf. Cohen, 1984-85) that local politics 'generates ethnicity'. Cohen's observations will be later discussed in more detail, but at this stage two points should be made (see pp. 105-106).

First, local politics and race relations in particular reflect changes that take place in Britain as a whole. These changes superimpose themselves on local authorities, making it increasingly difficult for them to maintain the status quo that previously prevailed. Second, it is mainly individuals who benefit from the various schemes initiated by the government or from equal opportunities policy.

Walzer commented in this context on the effect of introducing, in the United States, a quota system in employment and education:

> /the quota's/ chief purpose is to give opportunities to individuals, not a voice to groups. It serves to enhance the wealth of individuals, not necessarily the resources of the ethnic community. The community is strengthened, to be sure, if newly trained men and women return to work among its members, but only a small minority do that (1982:22).

It seems almost inevitable that the Asian community, in the face of the developments which took place in Britain, would

have remained indifferent, and that individuals would not take advantage of these opportunities.

The Gujarati community showed a remarkable adaptability to this new situation which was not initially of its own making. Whether or not Gujarati activists were the 'true' representatives of the Gujarati population is, for the present purpose, almost irrelevant. The fact remains that activists used their ethnicity, the status conferred on them by the establishment, as a stepladder to some kind of political career. And, as long as they believe that their career is dependent on the Asian community, they will have an interest in 'producing' that community to which they are assigned. Hence, Gujarati activists will be interested in unity, however fluid and fragile, of the Gujarati population.

Finally, it ought to be mentioned that caste and religious associations have not remained aloof; they have been responsive to all these political developments. Many activists in the caste associations assumed a double role and were also active in the anti-racist lobby. In addition, their organisational framework had already trained activists and assisted in acquiring leadership skills. Since individual branches of caste associations are, effectively, 'local groups' (cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958), it is to be expected that their self-preservation instinct should lead them to involvement, though indirect, in local politics.

The description and analysis here of the Gujarati community is by no means exhaustive. The various aspects

mentioned in this section, as well as in the previous ones, will be later explored in detail. But it does now become evident that Gujaratis, far from being a cultural preservation, are seeking as many channels and outlets as possible to improve their position in Britain.

Notes (chapter 1)

(1) The Local Government Act 1966 empowers the Home Office to reimburse Local Authority spending on "special provision in the exercise of any of their function in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial number of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the host community". Grants are paid at the rate of 75 per cent of the total cost of employing staff and only staff directly employed by Local Authority are eligible.

(2) The then Home Secretary, James Callaghan, pointed out that the Programme was designed to alleviate 'those areas of special social need' including but not exclusively aimed at those areas with a relatively high immigrant population. Initially, the scheme was limited to nursery provision, children homes, additional staff and equipment for them (Jones, 1977: 182), but it was later extended to take in a wide range of other social, and eventually, industrial and commercial projects. In 1977 the Urban Programme superseded proposals by the Department of Environment, which were primarily based on the findings of three Inner Area studies. The problems in these areas were identified as part institutional or structural, and not in terms of the characteristics of particular individuals or groups. Urban Aid grants, at the rate of 75 per cent (or more) were given on the basis of the submission of programmes plus project details to the Department of Environment (Ben-Tovim and Gabriel, 1982; Young, 1983).

(3) In relation to the Gujarati language Bharati indicates that "many of the people who are classed by other Asians, and often by themselves, as 'Gujarati', are actually Kutchi - the region of Kutch borders the Gujarati speaking area in the Northwest, and is bounded by the Sindhi speaking area and the sea" (1972:17). In East Africa, he adds, the Kutchi speech form was more or less discarded, and the younger generation used Gujarati and English in addition to a kind of pidgeon Hindustani.

CHAPTER 2

RECEPTION AND CONSOLIDATION - THE 1970s

2.1 Reception

The expulsion of Ugandan Asians was a significant event in the development of an Asian community in Harrow, and in particular in the formation of its Gujarati community whose members now constitute the majority of the local Asian population. Following the expulsion, the Asian community in Harrow became predominantly East African.

A survey conducted on all Asian households in Harrow (HEAP, 1985) demonstrates that 52 per cent of all Asians came from East Africa and that India is the place of origin for about 80 per cent of Harrow's Asian population. Since some of the people who are Indian born lived in East Africa, the proportion of East African Asians in Harrow exceeds 52 per cent. A study conducted by Shaw (1982) confirms this conclusion. The survey above also shows that only 15 per cent of the 1984 Asian population arrived in Harrow before 1972. Hence the arrival of about 1,500 expellees appears to have had a considerable effect on both Harrow's Asian community and the demographic make-up of the Borough of Harrow.

There are only a few short references in the "Harrow Observer" to Harrow's Asian community before 1971, and they mostly refer to entertainment, e.g showing Indian films locally on Sunday afternoons ("Harrow Observer", 8 January 1971).

Chapter 2 and 3 follow through the actions of one local authority in an area where Ugandan Asians settled.

They should be viewed as a micro-historical case study, which - hopefully - has the advantage of being comprehensive. The population which this study examines, however, does not include all Ugandan Asians in Harrow but only those whose place of origin is in Gujarat. Punjabi East Africans, being the second largest East African Asian community, mostly preferred to settle in areas whose Asian population was predominantly Punjabi (cf. Bhachu, 1984 and 1985). Some Ugandan Punjabis, nevertheless, settled in Harrow and by 1985 Punjabis numbered about 190 households (HEAP, 1985).

The arrival of Asians in Harrow is considered in the following parts. The outline in the first part follows the actions of Harrow Council between September 1972 and April 1973, the month which saw the final meeting of the Special Committee on Ugandan Asians. The Co-ordinating Committee: Ugandan Asian Refugees was set up by the Council soon after, and it liaised closely with the Special Committee[1].

The second part follows the relationships between Harrow Council and the Asian community up to the end of the 1970s. This part mainly follows the years of consolidation, where Asians established themselves economically and began to form associations.

The following chapter examines the intensification of the relationships between Harrow Council and the Asian community, and describes the committees established to consult ethnic minorities in the Borough, and the emergence of an Asian pressure group lobby.

2.1.1 The Arrival of Ugandan Asians

The incoming expellees were directly affected by the policies of Harrow Council at the time, but their impressions of the new country were not confined to the response of Harrow Council. The Asian population in Britain, including the newly arrived expellees, followed the events in Uganda and Britain closely, taking the British response as an acid test of its commitment to Asians at home and abroad.

Those Asians already settled in Britain were primarily concerned with their own people overseas, since many of them had relatives in Uganda. Some expellees were accommodated by their relatives, and others sought to settle in the more familiar environment of Asian communities which, apart from providing various services, were actively involved in supporting the coming expellees[2]. In fact, Asians and non-Asians alike volunteered to help the expellees and were involved in each step of the reception (Cunningham, 1973).

The support which the settlers received in the established Asian communities was one of the factors that pulled them to such areas. The vast majority preferred to settle in places where Ugandan or other Asians had previously settled, despite the consistent efforts of the URB to prevent them from doing so (Kuepper and others, 1975:74).[3]

The move to Harrow is indicative of this tendency though Harrow had, at the time, only a small Asian community. Just 8 per cent of the 1984 Asian population in the Borough had arrived before 1969, and a further 7.5 per

cent settled during 1970-1971 (HEAP, 1985). The attraction to Harrow was related to its proximity to other Asian communities, rather than to the size of its own Asian community (see p. 62). The proportion of Asians to have arrived in Harrow during 1972-73 practically doubled (14.5 per cent of the 1984 Asian population; HEAP, 1985) as a result of the expulsion.

The concern displayed by the Asians and their consequent involvement in the reception is by no means confined to this ethnic group. Most ethnic populations occasionally act as lobbies which attempt to influence the government of the day on specific foreign, or internal, policy issues.

There are some similarities between the Ugandan expulsion and the coup against president Makarios in 1974, which ended with the invasion by Turkey of Cyprus. Pamela Constantinides, who at the time conducted research on Greek Cypriots, indicates that:

> Wherever individual interests may have lain before these events, everyone, including the second generation of immigrants, became acutely conscious of their origins and the emotional and kinship ties which still bound them to Cyprus. After the first desperate concern for the physical safety of relatives passed, Cyprus aid and refugee relief groups sprang up in large numbers throughout the Greek Cypriot community. Especially among the second generation, political lobby and pressure groups formed to try and prod the British Government over what was seen as its failure to act as a guarantor of Cyprus' independence (1977:269).

The coup appears to have had a cohesive effect on Greek Cypriots in Britain. Constantinides asserts that it united the migrants and also drew into action the second

generation, which previously displayed little concern for its Cypriot origin.

The arrival and settlement of Ugandan Asians in Harrow was reported by the local newspaper, the "Harrow Observer". The information obtained from the newspaper is less accurate than evidence extracted from the minutes of both the Special Committee on Ugandan Asians and the Co-ordinating Committee. The newspaper's record is also less comprehensive. It was detailed during October and November 1972 and gradually thinned out. Whenever the Special Committee[4] decided not to produce a press release on decisions made in its meetings, the newspaper was bound to miss crucial information.

Both Harrow MPs and Harrow Council shared the view that the Borough's inhabitants should not be fully informed of the developments. They were of the opinion that the inhabitants would not favour the actions taken by the Council with regard to the arrival of the expellees for - presumably - the former were unsympathetic to the reception at the outset. It is difficult to find anything in writing to support this proposition. The chairperson of the Council at the time, Cyril Harrison, was of the opinion that the racist atmosphere engendered a few years earlier by speeches of Enoch Powell MP raised hostility against all immigrants, and was also rife at the beginning of the 1970s. He stressed, however, that the initiatives of Harrow MPs, i.e statements made in the House, were not always in accordance with the actions taken by the Council committees.

For academic reasons, however, local newspaper's coverage is important, being the closest proxy of public opinion at the time. The coverage given to statements made by Harrow MPs is also important, for its possible effect on public opinion.

The prospect of Ugandan Asians arriving in Harrow was first mentioned in the "Harrow Observer" at the beginning of September 1972, following a meeting of the Council's Policy and Resources Committee (see below). Harrow MPs were of the opinion that Britain could not afford, in the face of persisting social problems, to receive immigrants, and intended to raise the matter before the annual conference of the Conservative party which was due soon.

Their opinions were shared by the Harrow Central Conservative Association . Hugh Dykes, MP for Harrow East, thought that if immigrants were to come, no more than 3 per cent of a local migrant population should be received ("Harrow Observer", 5 September 1972). Such guidelines, if implemented, would have perpetuated the existing demographic situation. In other words, areas with a higher proportion of immigrant population would have received more expellees than those of low immigrant population .

Hugh Dykes added that:

> It would be madness for us to take many thousands of Ugandan Asians... It would also be unfair to Ugandan Asians to come into Britain in an atmosphere of fear and hostility (Harrow Observer, 5 September 1972).

On 18 September, 1972, a headline in the "Harrow Observer" announced that "Ugandan Asians who may be deported by

General Amin may come to Harrow in a concentrated influx into six London boroughs". Hugh Dykes immediately expressed concern over the decision made by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas Home, to settle Ugandan expellees in Harrow. He thought that an 'influx' of Asians would endanger the relationships between Britons and Asians in the Borough and enquired about their referral to India or Pakistan.

The majority of the local residents, asked by the "Harrow Observer" for their opinion (they were 'randomly' selected) objected to the arrival of the expellees. The sole Indian resident to participate in this survey said that Britain should give entrance to Ugandan Asians since they held British passports.

A letter from the URB (dated 18 September 1972) to all local authorities in England and Wales referred to financial aid to be given to local authorities "in respect of the temporary arrangement directly attributable to the resettlement of Asians expelled from Uganda" but did not specify the terms of that aid. The Policy and Resources Committee[5] had already stated that it was going to "consider any request of assistance /for the resettlement of Ugandan Asians/ in the light of other existing demands on Council resources" ("Harrow Observer", 31 August 1972). This statement was later repeated by other Borough officials, for the Council was not prepared to meet any expenses incurred by the coming expellees. The firm view over this matter, unanimously held in the Borough, probably rested on promises given both by the government and the URB. The government reassured local authorities that all

expenses directly incurred by the expellees would be reimbursed, up to about one year from the time of arrival.

The fact that no provisions were previously made to meet the expenses, together with the fact that the dispersal did not follow the Board's own guidelines, led to a meeting of Harrow MPs with Robert Carr, the Home Secretary. Though the arrival of expellees had only started a few days earlier, their number had already exceeded the 'target number' of twenty families. This figure was calculated according to the guidelines of the Board, whereby one family per 10,000 inhabitants was to be settled in any 'green' area (see the following section). Harrow, whose population numbered around 200,000 inhabitants, was to receive 20 families. It therefore appeared as if the URB had no control over the situation; some of the expellees arriving in Harrow neither went through the Resettlement Centres, nor provided the Board with details of their destination.

At the meeting arranged with the Home Secretary, John Page, MP for Harrow West, completely dissociated himself from the view that the government, let alone the Borough of Harrow, should accept responsibility for the expellees. The other two MPs said "we are alarmed at the way in which the Resettlement Board has been unable to secure an effective dispersal over many areas, as promised" ("Harrow Observer", 27 September 1972).

The alarm of Harrow MPs was premature. It was not known at the time, or for that matter, in the months to come, how many expellees were going to settle in Harrow.

Though the URB was sending lists of expellees who left the Resettlement Centres for Harrow, no data was available on the destinations of the remainder of the expellees. Since a third of the arrivals left Harrow after a month or two, or even after a few days, this procedure gave the misleading impression that the number of incoming expellees was larger than what the official figures suggested. In any case, the fact that all the expenses attributable to the reception were to be reimbursed should have alleviated the concern that the Council was facing a financial burden.

The declarations made by Harrow MPs, put together with the opinions expressed by the public, clearly indicate that Ugandan Asians were not wanted in Harrow. Whether the settlers themselves felt welcome is altogether another matter, and one which does not necessarily relate to the various actions taken by Harrow Council. No evidence can be found on which to draw a conclusion, and the absence of any mention of their own views and wishes (which could have been expressed in the local paper or directed to the Council) may be interpreted either way. To judge by the account of the Board's chairperson, Sir Charles Cunningham, the expellees were grateful for any help provided to them and avoided presenting any demands (Cunningham, 1973).

In the Resettlement Centres, nevertheless, expellees did complain and expressed dissatisfaction as to the ways in which their affairs were being handled. For instance, in Greenham Common Resettlement Centre the expellees were dissatisfied with the food provided to them, and warned that they would go on a hunger strike if the

food did not improve (Kuepper and others, 1975; Hunt, 1977). In Harrow, however, a report of the Social Services Department, submitted in April 1973 (see pp. 58-59) suggested that the expellees were willing to endure great difficulties rather than complain to the authorities.

The first meeting of the Special Committee on Uganda Refugees* took place at the beginning of October 1972. The number of expellees coming to the Borough amounted to 167 persons, out of which 143 were notified by the Board. The Committee drew the attention of the Council to the fact that the number of the arrivals had already exceeded the target figure, about 120 persons.

Despite unrealistic guidelines on the part of the URB, the Special Committee recommended the Council to purchase up to 20 "suitable houses" (their nature was unspecified) which would be rented to the 20 families that were expected to settle in Harrow. As negotiations on reimbursement to local authorities created a time lag, the Committee further recommended to rent temporarily up to ten properties for families who would later be transferred to the houses purchased.

In addition, it was decided to set up another committee, based on the former Working Party of Harrow Community Relations Council. This committee, named the Co-ordinating Committee: Uganda Asian Refugees (Co-ordinating Committee in short) was briefed to undertake the co-ordination of efforts within the Borough with regard to the resettlement of Ugandan expellees. Its chairperson, councillor P.D. Leaver, was appointed as a liaison officer

* Special Committee or Committee, in short.

between the Asian community in the Borough and the incoming Asians. Councillor Leaver was invited to the meetings of the Special Committee as an observer, and so was the Mayor of Harrow H.G. Gange.

Although the Mayor's capacity was merely an honorary one, the chairperson of the Special Committee, Cyril Harrison, felt that the Mayor's incorporation would gain the Committee a certain respectability, and would be a sign of approval of the importance of the matter concerned.[6]

In the first meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee, later in October 1972, councillor Leaver stated that in order to achieve "the most efficient and harmonious" resettlement, all voluntary organisations concerned should attend the Committee meetings[7]. By the time the second meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee took place, the Council was informed of 500 expellees who came into the Borough, comprising approximately 100 families.

The general picture which emerged of the number of Ugandan expellees to have arrived in Britain was by then somewhat clearer: 17,500 had already entered the United Kingdom, of whom 8,500 had been dispersed throughout the country and 9,000 were accommodated in Resettlement Centres. The URB anticipated another 6,500 to be settled in Britain in the forthcoming weeks (including 500 who were expected to arrive in Harrow). The Co-ordinating Committee suggested that a register be compiled "to ensure that appropriate accommodation was available". Such a register had already been started by the Women's Royal Voluntary

Service and the Co-ordinating Committee chairperson herself. The Women's Royal Voluntary Service also took the responsibility for providing furniture and clothes.

In order to assist with employment the Co-ordinating Committee approached various major employers in the Borough, such as Kodak and HMSO, and intended to meet smaller firms. It envisaged that difficulties to obtain appropriate jobs could arise due to a "possible language barrier".

Various organisations represented on the Co-ordinating Committee offered Asians the opportunity to join their clubs. Their members visited the new arrivals, 'as an act of good will'. Special attention was given to English classes for adults. It was also perceived that children of under-school age were not fluent in English. It was therefore suggested that playgroups should run at the same time as adult classes, so that both mothers and children could become more fluent in English.

2.1.2 Harrow Becomes a 'Red' Area

By the beginning of November 1972 Harrow Council made a plea to refer Asians to other places. It pointed out that 20 families already lived in overcrowded accommodation and that the situation would further deteriorate if the provision of financial aid was delayed. A letter to the Home Office was sent, "calling for early notification to be given to all local authorities as to general financial aid to be made available to them" ("Harrow Observer", 3 November 1972).

A letter from the URB, however, had already been sent. In this letter (dated 1 November 1972) the Board specified the expenditures eligible for grant, including categories for which grants were to be 75 and 100 per cent of the total expenditure incurred due to the arrival of the expellees in the Borough. Those whose resettlement expenditure qualified for grant were defined by the Board (in the letter mentioned above) as those who entered the United Kingdom with passports issued to them by the British government, their spouses, relicts [sic], children and other dependents (being in each case persons who were ordinarily resident in Uganda on 4 August 1972), and also the children of such persons born since that date.

A local authority in doubt as to whether a family corresponded to this definition could make enquiries with the Board, since the Board was the arbitrator in such cases. In order to simplify the formal procedures the Board fixed a fee for each service to be made available. Any expenditure above the fixed fees needed special approval, and relevant information was provided on the method by which such expenditure should be claimed.

In a later meeting (6 November 1972) the Special Committee was informed of the current situation by several chief officers. Since 31 October, 1972, 51 families moved out of the Borough and 39 families (comprising 140 persons) moved in. The fact that the Committee rescinded its initial intention to purchase 20 houses attests to the nature of the Council's response. The Committee reversed its decision in this matter because it was not satisfied

with the reimbursement arrangements, but made no alternative plans once the financial arrangements of reimbursement were made. The problem of overcrowding was to be dealt with "in the normal manner" despite the fact that the existence of such bodies as the local Special Committee, let alone the URB, implied that the situation was anything but normal.

As for the needs of school age children efforts were made to match provision with demand. For example, science courses were favoured by Asian pupils, and so a few classes were opened. The Education Department decided not to spread the children equally in the various schools in the Borough as, for example, was normal procedure in Southall (Campaign Against Racism and Fascism/Southall Rights, 1981). Hence, children did not have to commute more than was necessary. Extra classes were run for 'O' level students, and the Harrow College of Further Education ran courses for young Asian adults who were not familiar with the English language. As more Asian pupils sought admission to schools, another three teaching staff were appointed.

It appears that the Council was more willing to meet the educational needs of the expellees. The reason behind the disparate provision of services possibly lies with the reluctance of the Council to accept the expellees as permanent residents. The handling of matters related to housing warrants such a proposition. While frequent mention was made as to the overcrowded situation, no action was taken to relieve the housing situation unless a family was made homeless (there are a number of references to

hostel accommodation but I was unable to find the number of families who made use of this temporary arrangement). Overcrowding, rather than being handled according to the Board's guidelines, became the premise upon which Harrow claimed that it could not receive any more Ugandan Asians.

The Co-ordinating Committee, aware of the overcrowding experienced by the expellees nevertheless suggested that "the social work problem among Asians was very small" (Co-ordinating Committee minutes, 15 November 1972). The fact that 172 men and 44 women (all Asian) had already been registered with the Harrow Employment Exchange ("Harrow Observer", 14 November 1972) encouraged Hugh Dykes to reiterate the plea that Harrow should be designated as a 'red' area. The director of Harrow Employment Exchange said that the majority of Asian men "described themselves as traders or merchants, but in many cases they did not understand the British tax system and faced problems which made it difficult to work" ("Harrow Observer", 21 November 1972). He made no reference as to the employment prospects of Asian women.

The situation in November 1972, however, was not perceived to be out of hand. The Special Committee reported to the Council that no services were under strain. A report from the Assistant Controller of Health Services stated that the health of the incoming Asians was satisfactory.

During the month of December, the "Harrow Observer" demonstrated little interest in the resettlement of Ugandan Asians. It said, though, that 'mixed' playgroups were set up to give Ugandan Asian children "enjoyable pre-school experience" ("Harrow Observer", 8 December 1972).

Later in the month the paper reported an attack by a gang of youths who beat up three coloured men (the paper itself used the term 'coloured', but the expression later disappeared from its terminology).

There is no mention of the rising number of unemployed Ugandan Asians in the last meeting of the Special Committee for the year 1972, which took place at the end of December. The Committee seemed to be concentrating solely on the housing situation and the government provisions to meet the cost of housing, social services and, to a lesser extent, of education facilities. This is probably due to the scale of the expenses, with housing potentially incurring a considerable proportion of the expenditure.

From this month onwards the Council made enquiries about the re-housing of Asians in new and expanding towns. Preference was given to towns which were within a radius of 20 miles from Harrow as the expellees were more likely to accept accommodation which was not far from north London. Employment prospects were also taken into account. This initiative met with sympathy from the GLC, which at the time ran the New and Expanding Town Scheme (previously titled "the GLC's Industrial Selection Scheme"). The GLC was prepared to arrange for leaflets to be posted through the doors of 500-800 properties "in a particular part of the Borough" (unspecified). It also offered to take Asians by coach to view those areas. Yet due to the "public relations aspect" and "local repercussions", it was alternatively decided to conduct a meeting (all

expenses incurred to be paid by the URB) in order to provide information on the scheme.

In a confidential 'Dossier on Situation Arising from the Influx of Uganda Asians' (dated 23 January 1973), under the heading 'Zoning as a "Red Area"', the chief officers of the Borough revealed that Harrow ensured that the URB would not refer any expellees still accommodated in Resettlement Centres to Harrow "unless it is known that accommodation is directly available to them".

From the numerous letters, received by the Council about the referral of expellees, it appears that there were no clear criteria as to whether Asians should or should not be treated as "special cases". Corby Development Corporation, for example, informed Harrow that it had already housed twelve Ugandan Asian families outside the normal housing waiting list, and that no further Asian families could be taken as special cases (Special Committee minutes, agenda item no. 4, 12 March 1986).

While this initiative was pushed forward, the Chief Executive and Town Clerk made enquiries about receiving further reimbursement of the expenses incurred by the Council as a consequence of the reception effort.

In January 1973, the Council examined a proposal to amend its housing scheme so that a larger amount of a family's income could be allocated for repayment of mortgages. Such a proposal would have enabled expellees to purchase Council houses which otherwise they could not afford. The Finance and General Committee considered the point and resolved that:

> This restriction is there to protect the borrower. In any case, to put a stranger in this country, unfamiliar as they could be with the price structure, in a position that a larger share of their income was absorbed by the provision of housing needs, would be doing a positive dis-service, rather than helping them (Special Committee minutes, 19 January 1973).

It is difficult to determine whether Harrow's initiative was influenced by a previous letter sent by the URB (dated 4 January 1973). The Board was aware that the expellees would prefer to purchase their own housing (Cunningham, 1973) and hoped that local authorities would consider mortgage applications from expellees sympathetically. The fact that the Council pursued this matter further possibly indicates that it did not ignore the Board's plea.

By then, however, Harrow had achieved a 'red' area status through the URB. Although no expellees who left the Resettlement Centres were expected to settle in Harrow, the Council was fully aware that some expellees could make their own arrangements and settle in the Borough if they so wished.

Hence, the Special Committee displayed little interest in this achievement (the fact was briefly mentioned in a report of the Deputy Executive and Borough Treasurer on the Rate Support Grant, 22 January 1973).

2.1.3 Reception - The Final Stage?

During March, 1973, the Special Committee decided to approach the Home Office, as well as the URB, in order to receive from the government special loans for those expellees with adequate frozen assets, so as to bridge the gap between the advance obtainable under the Council's scheme and the advance required for home purchase. The Council also enquired whether expellees in steady employment could be paid "some form" of supplementary benefit "until such time as their earnings are deemed to be sufficient to bear the full repayment from their own resources" (Special Committee minutes, 12 March 1973).

These enquiries were made while the Council was engaged in an extensive investigation as to housing of some expellees in new and expanding towns.

The answer from the Home Office suggested that the two proposals contradicted the government's view that it was unjustifiable to make special arrangements for one particular group from which other groups would not benefit. In short, these proposals were turned down. The Special Committee acknowledged the receipt of the relevant letter (Special Committee minutes, 17 April 1973), but made no further resolutions on this matter.

As was mentioned earlier, this rationale, i.e that no segment of the population should be favoured than others, was not unfamiliar to Harrow Council. In fact, for that very reason the Council asked for financial aid. The alternative, which was to provide housing initially intended for Harrow residents, could only count as 'preferential treatment', to use Lane's

wording. Hence, the Council was put in an impossible situation.

As a consequence of the growing number of expellees living in overcrowded accommodation, "the social work problem", to use the Council's phrase, deteriorated considerably during 1973. The Co-ordinating Committee reported that families suffered from stress and various forms of depression. It therefore felt that intensive social work should be carried out, and that two Ugandan Asian community workers should be appointed to alleviate the situation. The Special Committee, which had already given up the idea of appointing a youth worker (Special Committee minutes, 12 March 1973), agreed to appoint two temporary community workers, to be seconded to the Community Relations Council. Their posts were to be assessed after one year, in relation to the needs of the Ugandan Asian population. Meanwhile, their salaries were reimbursed by the URB.

A report submitted at the end of April 1973 by the Director of Social Services described the situation of the expellees in the Borough. The Social Services Department in Harrow conducted a mini-survey on 13 families. All the families had previously enjoyed a good standard of living in Uganda, the heads of households having been businessmen, managers and shopkeepers. Only 6 out of the 18 adult males in these families were employed. In 9 cases out of 13 the tenancy was insecure, and the families were unable to pay rent or other accommodation costs. Hence, the unemployed males looked

for manual or clerical work, rather than the kind of jobs they had previously held.

The 13 families, all referred to the Central Area Team, comprised 40 adults and 49 children. Seven families shared accommodation, mostly with relatives who had previously settled in Harrow. The average density was just under two people per room.

The Director of Social Services pointed out that these families did not necessarily constitute a representative sample of Ugandan Asians in Harrow. He was aware that many expellees were reluctant to make use of services to which they were entitled and sought to be self-reliant. He ended by saying that - if this was the case - larger number of Ugandan Asians in the Borough experienced hardship.

Despite this situation the Special Committee was disbanded during April 1973.

A meeting that took place in March 1973 passed a resolution not to fix a date for the next meeting, but "to leave to the Mayor the calling of a meeting should it become necessary". The Mayor used this provision during April 1973, when the last meeting of the Special Committee was called. By then, the Co-ordinating Committee joined one of Harrow CRC's sub-committees (Harrow CRC was established a year earlier, in 1972). Matters regarding Ugandan Asians, from that month onwards, were brought to the attention of the standing Council committees. In other words, the expellees were to be treated according to the legislative and statutory regulations to which they were assigned as British

citizens from the Commonwealth.

This month (April 1973) also saw a major development within the URB, for no new admissions to the Resettlement Centres were made after 23 April. Only five Centres out of the 16 which were previously set up remained open (Home Secretary, in an answer to a Parliamentary question, 17 April 1973). It appears that the decision to disband the Special Committee is linked to this development, though there is no reference in the minutes to the reason for disbanding the Special Committee in that particular meeting.

As the following section demonstrates, the reception was not completed, since the expellees still experienced difficulties in housing, education and employment.

2.2 Consolidation

The early 1970s were the years of consolidation in that they saw the intensive efforts of Asians to build their own businesses and purchase their own homes. This observation applies both to the Ugandan expellees as well as to the remainder of the Asian community, which began to settle in Harrow in the 1960s. Harrow Asians follow, in this respect, other immigrant populations which devote the first years of settlement to the establishment of a firm economic base (cf. Epstein, 1978:62). Yet unlike other Asian immigrants who came to Britain where male members came first and women and children followed (cf. Ballard and Ballard, 1977), most East African Asian families were united upon settlement. Breadwinners had to provide for whole families from the day of arrival.

Many Asian expellees first joined their relatives in Harrow, and were willing to endure considerable overcrowding in order to buy their own accommodation. Most East African Asians had some financial resources to start with, without which they could not have become the owners of their own homes in such a short space of time. This, combined with their willingness to endure overcrowded conditions, allowed them to purchase their own accommodation in relatively short period[8].

The settlement pattern of the Gujaratis is identical to that of Ugandan Sikhs both in this and in other respects (Bhachu, 1984 and 1985). Using their own survey on Ugandan Asian settlers in Wandsworth and Slough, Kuepper and others predicted that:

> In terms of adaptation, the Ugandan Asians provided evidence during the first year of settlement of a willingness to secure available initial employment of unskilled levels and then to begin the arduous task of matching skills with opportunities where suitable housing was available (1975:113).

The questions which they pose indicate that it was not clear at the time whether Ugandan Asians would settle in areas outside the large Asian concentrations:

> How soon these new immigrants will begin to depend less on the security of living near to their predecessors in dominant Asian neighbourhoods and begin instead to seek the middle class neighbourhoods to which they and other Asians aspire, will depend partly upon the loans and deposits allowed by public authorities and private associations (including, importantly, the Asian organisations) (1975:113).

Following the expulsion Asians arrived in Harrow in a steady flow. This development occurred despite the

attempts of the Borough of Harrow to deter Asians from settling within its borders, and the hostile reaction of Harrow's white population (as occasionally expressed in the "Harrow Observer"). However, the fact that Asians moved out from the more highly populated immigrant areas does not mean, as the quotation above implies, that they had forsaken security altogether. Rather, the fact that relatives lived in the vicinity outweighed the size of the Asian population in the area.

Nearly 70 per cent of the interviewees (Kuepper and others, 1975) reported that in Uganda their relatives lived near them. This evidence shows that living within areas which were exclusively populated by Asians did not affect the tendency to live near relatives. My own data supports the evidence that Gujaratis tend to live in close proximity to their families, as most of the interviewees (in Northwick Park Hospital) had relatives in London rather than elsewhere in Britain.

It therefore appears that a kind of internal 'chain migration' took place, where Gujaratis followed Ugandan expellees to new areas. Amongst them were also Gujaratis with no relatives in Britain or who were attracted to Harrow for its nearness to the large Asian areas of Brent and Southall. In the course of this process Harrow was being established as an 'Asian area'.

Bhachu (1984) also points out that East African Sikhs did not, upon arrival, settle in inner-city areas, where property was cheapest, but immediately settled in Southall and in conurbations near Southall. Accordingly, the largest number of Ugandan expellees to settle in one

London area was 3,000 in Brent (CRC, 1974), most of whom were self-settlers.

As will later become evident, the hostility towards the Asians was related (but probably, not correlated) to their number. During the 1970s immigration issues captured the attention of Asians and non-Asians alike and probably contributed to the feeling that coloured people were unwanted citizens and that their migration into Britain should decrease, if not cease altogether. The anti-immigration lobby called for a virtual halt to the migration of coloured people into Britain and was dissatisfied with the 1971 Immigration Act because of its failure to stop immigration altogether (Ben-Tovim and Gabriel, 1982:160-161).

Public opinion in Harrow, orchestrated by its MPs, disapproved of further arrival of Asians in Britain as a whole, and in Harrow in particular.

For example, in a letter to "Harrow Observer", a representative of the National Front wrote:

> NF councillors will, if elected, press for a complete halt to coloured immigration into the borough so that Harrow never again has to bear the brunt of an immigrant influx ("Harrow Observer", 26 March 1974).

Other letters were more carefully worded, but the fact that such letters were published contributed to the legitimacy of such views. The newcomers were referred to by the "Harrow Observer" as 'immigrants' as if their status was not that of citizens who had the right of abode in Britain. Newcomers were suspected of being illegal immigrants and some were requested to present a

passport upon dealing with various departments of Harrow Council. Speakers on behalf of the Asian community protested against the suspicion displayed against the Asian community. This protest led to the removal of such practices, but only temporarily; complaints of such practices were also made during the 1980s (see "Harrow Observer",4 December 1981).

These are then the main themes which the following paragraphs explore. This section follows the years of consolidation. It first examines the response of the local community to the settlement of Asians in the Borough and then follows the years of consolidation, from 1973 up to 1980.

More specifically, it should also be noted that, while being preoccupied with their own private and individual needs, Gujaratis established various associations or joined existing Asian associations outside Harrow. They began to organize various social and cultural functions and by the end of the 1970s Indian cultural events, such as concerts and dance performances, became a regular feature in Harrow. These events were open to the general public, though in some functions, for example, Diwali celebrations, only Asians participated.

The last paragraphs only briefly describe the associations which were established in this period. A more expansive analysis of the role of such associations appears in chapter 5.

2.2.1 British Citizens as 'Immigrants'

As was earlier suggested, there is little evidence on how the expellees viewed the resettlement policy or the response of Harrow Council towards them. The absence of an organized response during the first half of the 1970s indicates that the preoccupation with financial betterment, coupled with adjustment to new and unfamiliar environment, postponed the establishment of associations, as well as individuals' response such that later appeared in newspapers. One expellee who arrived in Harrow in 1972 and later became an activist explained:

> For two years I put all my energy in establishing a new home. Housing associations were sympathetic and I had no problem to buy a house; then, I had to furnish it. After two years in Harrow I 'went public'.

A report submitted by Harrow Community Relations Council, in 1974, illustrates that the situation that prevailed at the time was far from satisfactory. It said:

> Many are 'technically' resettled, but the continuing case load indicates that a fair majority are still suffering from multiple deprivation... Housing problems of the coloured families, particularly those of the recently arrived British Asians from Uganda, need urgent attention. The very size of the problem is daunting ("Harrow Observer", 28 June 1974).

The report also pointed out to various language, unemployment and other problems. Apparently, difficulties in finding suitable accommodation and employment were not resolved soon after settlement. Another report, published by the Community Relations Commission (1974), supports this evidence. This report urged local

authorities to use the provisions made in the 1966 Local Government Act in order to alleviate the situation.

The first elections to the Council, since the expulsion, took place in 1974. No ethnic minorities candidates stood for either these elections ("Harrow Midweek",7 May 1974), nor for the 1978 elections. The only Gujarati candidate, a Conservative, Abdul Jiwani, had to withdraw his nomination. Jiwani, from Kenton East, came from East Africa in 1973 and was not yet naturalised. His case was brought to the Under State Secretary, Dr. Shirley Summerskill, who stated that Jiwani would not be eligible for participation in elections until he was naturalised. Jiwani stood later, in 1982, as a Conservative candidate for the Council, but was not elected. This incident is indicative of the fact that a number of expellees, for various reasons, had not yet become British citizens. Some of them turned to Harrow Community Relations Council for help, but probably not all of them. Harrow CRC recorded the number of such cases, all of which were handled in strict confidentiality. As late as 1981 deportations to India took place. In one case a Harrow resident, Nirvana Dutta, fought the Home Office for three years in order to gain a permission for his grandparents to stay with him. His grandparents overstayed in Britain, and - despite their health condition - were later deported (in 1981).

The "Harrow Observer" reported such incidents but preferred not to take a stand on such matters. Where Asians were not described as immigrants, they were portrayed as outsiders, alien to indigenous culture[9].

The following instance may not be typical, but it well reflects the attitude (presumably, not only the writer's) according to which being both British and Asian was somewhat incompatible.

Often the paper would print on the front page a photograph of a 'local beauty', followed by a few lines on her background. In one instance the description goes as follows:

> When you meet Miss Chandra Laikha Bhatia it's hard to believe that she spent all her life in the United Kingdom and although she was recently a runner up in the "sari queen" contest her activities are much more like those of any local young lady... (30 June, 1978).

Since Miss Bhatia was Asian, she was not expected to have lived in Britain for many years. The passage implies that a "sari queen" competition was not, normally, a 'British' activity, such as the ones in which local young ladies were engaged. Such competitions were, by then, annually held.

The fact that Asians were regarded as unwanted guests was even more obvious in the section of letters to the editor. Apart from expressing objection to the presence of Asians, these letters disapproved the provision of special services to ethnic minorities.

Asians did not always oppose the view that their population should be dispersed, or that immigration of Asians should be restricted. In 1976, the vice-president of the Goan Overseas Association, Rabi Martins, appealed to Asians to 'spread out':

> I believe this is the first time we have become the cause of racial tension. And I agree with Mr. Page that by insisting that we live within earshot of our cousins and friends we are not helping the situation ("Harrow Observer", 8 June 1976).

This letter followed a debate in the Commons on immigration. Two Harrow MPs asked the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, whether he had any plans of issuing further orders under the Immigration Act 1971 which would tighten the restriction on new immigrant entrants and their dependants. Jenkins replied that he had no plans to reduce the annual quota, which allowed entrance to Britain to 5,000 holders of British passports. As a result, Mr. Dykes put his signature to an Early Day motion, calling for a temporary halt on further immigration until the situation was clarified[10]. Mr. Page had earlier stated that he "feels very strongly that immigrants should not congregate so much in the same areas but should spread out more" ("Harrow Observer", 28 May 1976).

In 1978, "Harrow Observer" (10 February 1978) reported an Asian father of a 17 year old boy born in England who could not get a job. The father appealed to Mr. Page to stop all new immigration for a certain period. This, allegedly, would have granted the already settled Asians with a proper chance of assimilation. Mr. Page immediately reiterated objection to any further immigration. He had already expressed his objection to the entrance of Asian immigrants in the wake of the expulsion from Malawi, in 1976. Page was of the opinion that expellees who wished to settle in Britain should be

referred to Goa. He also added that:

> ... it would be wrong and unfair to the local population for a further large group of immigrants to settle in the borough, the main problem being in the schools where the immigrant children tend to hold back the others" ("Harrow Observer", 21 May 1976).

The above evidence suggests that Harrow Asians were not only aware of immigration measures, but were also influenced by anti-immigration publicity. The statements of the few Asians who expressed their support of an immigration halt were immediately used by Harrow MPs, for they assisted in legitimizing such views. Hence Mr. Page felt free to repeat his objection in speeches given to the local branch of the Conservative party which had Asian members.

Asian residents in Harrow, however, began to protest against views held by Harrow MPs as well as against what they saw as discriminatory practices.

In the beginning of 1976, the results of a survey (reported in the "Harrow Observer", 23 January 1976) showed that 84 per cent of immigrant workers in London were either illegal, or had overstayed their work permits. These results prompted Mr Page to ask for the response of the Social Services Secretary. Shortly afterwards, when the details on the Race Relations Bill were published, the Confederation of Indian Organisations (CIO)[11] used this opportunity to express its own views on the issue of illegal immigration. It sought to refute the allegations that illegal evasion of immigration controls was wider than was previously believed.

In a memorandum to the Home Office, the Secretary of the Confederation, Kanti Nagda (see 2.2.3), welcomed the Race Relations Bill, which was expected to pass later that year. He was of the opinion that race relations in Britain were deteriorating, and that the uncertainty as to the true extent of illegal entry fed rumours which were unfavourable to the improvement of race relations. The CIO therefore demanded that a Tribunal of Inquiry be established, vested with the powers prescribed in the Tribunal Act 1921, in order "to determine the truth of the varying statistics that have been published" ("Harrow Observer", 13 July 1976).

At the time, the CIO representative was cautious not to accuse the government of racism. He worded his plea carefully:

> Nothing is more likely to provoke resentment among coloured citizens in the UK, than an appearance of preferential treatment for whites ("Harrow Observer", 13 July 1976).

A few years later the word 'racism' was, in similar circumstances, clearly spelt out, and protests were expressed in much stronger terms. The same people who, in the 1970s, did not resort to using the term 'racism', soon changed their mode of expression. This tendency, as the following chapter shows, was parallel to the appearance of 'black' Asians on the scene. The following section further expands on the emergence of a new type of association in the 1980s. At this stage, however, I would like to describe the creation of associations during the 1970s.

2.2.2 Gujarati Associations - The Beginning

Some Gujarati associations which were established in Harrow resemble associations which operated in East Africa, while the creation of other associations has no parallel in the East African history of Gujaratis. The former are mainly caste and religious associations, but also some youth associations belong to this category (Shaw, 1982). It is not possible, however, to validate the extent to which associations which in Britain carried the same name are equivalent to those in East Africa. Indeed, they may not have the same brief (or constitution) and the composition of their membership is likely to differ from one place to another. In other words, it is almost impossible to establish whether any associations have been transplanted to Britain.

Various difficulties arise in portraying the voluntary activities of Gujaratis in Harrow. Some Gujarati associations drawing members from Harrow are neither based there nor in neighbouring areas. These could be, for example, small caste associations, where the majority of members reside outside London. Conversely, some associations are based in Harrow (that is, their functions are co-ordinated by members residing in Harrow) yet most activities take place elsewhere. The UK Asian Women Conference, for example, is an association founded and run mainly by Gujarati women residing in Harrow and Hendon; its activities largely happen elsewhere. In this particular case, the association is neither registered with Harrow CRC nor with the Harrow Association of Voluntary Organisations.

In addition, a distinction should be made between the voluntary activity of individuals and the joint voluntary activity of Gujaratis qua Gujaratis and Asians. Both this chapter and the analysis in chapter 5, however, are concerned with joint voluntary action. Gujarati associations were traced mainly through the newsletters of Harrow CRC and its annual reports, reports in the "Harrow Observer", "New Life" (a Gujarati-owned weekly) and the general press, and Urban Aid applications. In addition, some delegates of associations were approached in meetings of the Community Liaison Working Party (see the following chapter), in various conferences, or were contacted following introductions made by informants.

As a result, the main associations approached were 'large', roughly those with more than a hundred members. Some 'small' associations, however, were represented on the Community Liaison Working Party or other committees set up by the Council for consultation with the ethnic community, and their delegates were thus contacted. These were founded to exert pressure on the Council, and practically all their members were active in other associations. Their size was not directly related to their influence, as they could mobilize other associations into action. The larger associations, by comparison, most of which are registered as charitable organisations, have greater endurance, larger resources and are able to exert pressure locally, and at times - particularly in the case when their branches are spread nation-wide - also nationally.

During the 1970s several associations in Harrow sought ways and means of introducing themselves to the local community, believing that the hostility towards Asians would weaken once the non-Asian population were acquainted with Indian culture. This characterizes practically all Gujarati associations, and was also evident in the 1980s. The appearance of 'briefs' on various Asian religions, for example, in the newsletter of Harrow CRC, is but one example out of many. In the 1970s, however, this 'integrationism' was manifested, for example, in the invitations of Council members, the Mayor, or government officials, to functions. On other occasions non-Asian, as well as Asian people, were invited with the intention of creating links with similar associations, e.g women's, or of socializing with people whom otherwise Gujaratis were unlikely to meet socially.

Asian associations may be classified as either 'traditional' or 'modern' ones. The former would be associations based on allegiance to caste, religion or region (in Gujarat) or even to a single village. 'Modern' associations would therefore be those aspiring to cater for new needs arising from the particular circumstances in Britain, or actively pursuing to influence the Council to cater for such needs. Shaw (1982), who studied residential location and pattern of East African Asians in Harrow employs a somewhat similar notion, that of outward looking against inward looking associations. Caste associations which, "by their existence help their members to reproduce the patterns of social exclusivism which was a feature of the East African Asians' way of life in their country of

origin" (Shaw, 1982:180-1), would evidently be inward looking. Conversely, for example, the Indian Association (in Harrow), which organizes such events as a Christmas celebration for white pensioners - according to Shaw - would be outward looking.

From my own observations in Harrow Gujarati associations are both modern and traditional. Caste associations, for example, are bureaucratic organisations, and they are modern in many other respects, as will later become clear (see 5.5). Nor are they inward looking. Using such criteria to describe them may therefore lead to a loss of information. However, it should be stressed that these associations are continually changing, addressing themselves to different issues at different times. Perhaps a more meaningful division would be between associations established primarily as pressure groups, and those for whom exerting pressure is a 'side activity'. In view of the fact that the former associations came into being in the 1980s, it seems premature to advocate that such a division can yield a greater understanding of the organisational infrastructure of Gujaratis in Britain.

Associations which assume to respond to new needs, but do not fall in the rubric of pressure groups, are not necessarily more successful than 'traditional' ones. For example, the National Association of Asian Students was established in 1979. The Brent and Harrow branch was established a year later. Most of the students studied for 'O' and 'A' levels and were living at home. This branch eventually disbanded because the students, Shaw (1982)

explains, maintained their contacts with the Asian community through their parents. This association, however, still exists, and has many Gujarati students.

The caste associations that were established during the 1970s have since grown steadily (for a discussion on the definitions 'caste' and 'caste associations' see chapter 5). There are three major caste associations which draw their membership from the three largest castes: the Patidar (45,000), Lohana (30,000) and the Visa Halari Oshwal (15,000) (Michaelson, 1979). All other castes number according to Michaelson, 1,500 members or less (Michaelson, 1979).

Almost 100 per cent of the members of the Harrow branches of both the Oshwal Association of the United Kingdom and that of the National Association of Patidar Samaj (lit. people) are from East Africa. The Lohana Community of North London has 80 per cent of its members from East Africa, and the remainder came to Britain from India (Shaw, 1982).

According to information provided by a former president of the Lohana Community in north London, 33,000 Lohanas, out of the 35,000 who reside in Britain, are East African (his estimate is thus larger than that of Michaelson). The vast majority of Lohanas originate from Saurashtra, mainly from places around cities such as Rajkot and Jamnagar. The first branch founded by the Lohanas was in north London. It was established in 1972 and a national association was founded five years later. The north London branch is by far the largest branch and counts 10,000 members out of 12,000 Lohanas residing in north

London. Its president and other office bearers, e.g vice-president or treasurer, are elected annually. Apart from standing committees which are concerned with matters such as education, membership, welfare, businesses or 'family reconciliation', there are various committees established for the purpose of organising one-off events, e.g charity walk. The president nominates the chairpersons of the standing committees and attends all their meetings.

The Harrow branch of the Oshwal Association of the UK (hence, Oshwals) constitutes, according to a community worker employed by the association, about 1,000 households. These constitute about 4,600 persons, out of the 6,000 Oshwals in Harrow. The Harrow branch is one of nine branches in Britain.

All Oshwals are Jain by their religion, but not vice versa. There is, therefore, a Jain association (one which has members who are not Oshwals), called Jain Samaj. Its head office is in Leicester and its members in Harrow maintain their contacts with the head office via a news-letter which keeps them updated with various activities. Some Jains in Harrow are Vania by caste and belong to Navnat (lit. nine castes) Vanik Association. Most of them originate in Saurashtra and their association comprises the following castes (referred by the members themselves as 'sects' or 'communities'): Dasha Shrimali, Dasha Soratia, Visa Shrimali , Visa Sorathia, Kapol, Modh, Porwad, Khadaita and Vanic Soni (see p. 228).

There are other Oshwal or Jain associations, most of which are small and connected to a specific region in Gujarat. The members of Naviuga (lit. new age) Jain, for example, come from South Gujarat. Only a small proportion

of these associations are active beyond their enclosed circles of members, i.e they do not organise 'outward looking' activities. Unlike the Navnat Vanik Association, which has its own building in Harrow, they are unable to have premises of their own or hold large functions.

The small caste associations are not represented in Harrow CRC. The Lohanas and the Oshwals (but not the Patidars) have representatives on Harrow CRC.

One of the first associations of the Patidars in Britain was the Patidar Samaj, which was formed in 1969. Its name was later changed, in 1976, to the National Association of the Patidar Samaj (NAPS). The Harrow branch was formed in 1977, alongside other London branches. Following the adoption of a constitution, in 1978, the NAPS registered as a charitable organisation. The Harrow branch was inactive during the mid-1980s, and its members therefore participated in the activities of the adjacent Wembley branch. This is possibly the reason why the Patidars do not have a representative on Harrow CRC.

The remainder of Gujaratis belong to small castes (chhoti jats), such as the washermen (Dhobis) or carpenters (Sutars) caste. Their associations hold at least one function every year, around the time of Diwali.

The most active association in Harrow, during the 1970s, was the Anglo-Indian Art Circle (AIAC). It was founded in 1974 and soon became an affiliated member of Harrow CRC. The aims of the association, as outlined by its founder, Kanti Nagda, were "to promote Indian Culture, to stand against discrimination, to provide facilities in the field of social welfare, entertainment, education,

literature and sport, charity functions, religious and to promote Anglo-Indian culture and social integration" ("Harrow Midweek", 7 May 1974). The AIAC counted, according to Shaw (1982), some 500 members. Its name, however, does not reveal that practically all the members were Gujarati.

This association had a leading role in all matters concerning the Asian community in Harrow. The role it gradually assumed was thanks to the enterprise of its founder. Issues that were not raised by Nagda via the AIAC, were raised in his capacity as Secretary of another association, the CIO.

Following a report published early in 1980 by the Home Office and the DHSS, which referred to the breakdown of marriages within the Asian community, Kanti Nagda argued that, since no Asians were employed by the Harrow branch of the Marriage Guidance Council, a special unit was required to help failing Asian marriages. He also thought that a hostel for Asian women should be set up. It was on this particular occasion that the "Harrow Observer" (8 February 1980) described him as a leader of the Asian community. Eventually his much publicized activity led to his invitation to Buckingham Palace and an entry in Who's Who.

Later that month, following a report of Harrow Social Services Department, which stated that "Minority groups play additional demands on the borough's limited resources", Nagda accused the Council's housing policy of being a "Powellite preoccupation". He added that:

> A massive amount can be done even at this late stage to improve communication between planners and ethnic minority groups: planners should cross cultural planning barriers, and those in authority should listen and act upon expressions of need. Most plans are 'colour blind'. They simply ignore the existence of ethnic minorities, except for four or five lines in the Topic Papers ("Harrow Observer", 19 February 1982).

The role which the founder assumed, being an ardent protester against discrimination, illustrates that activity within a voluntary association may provide a platform for activists whose aspirations coincide with the aims of the association they represent.

Associations are used as a stepladder for activists who desire to establish themselves as 'internal' leaders. From a local association an activist may proceed to membership of the national executive of an association though, at times, activists may initially opt for activity within such forums (this is more likely to be achieved when they are involved in the creation of that particular association). The case of the AIAC also shows that associations are sometimes the creation of one person, their founder. Once the founder resigns, an association may be in danger of disbanding altogether, unless it can find someone as a successor. Since 1982, when Kanti Nagda resigned, this association no longer acted as a pressure group though it remained registered with Harrow CRC.

The following further illustrates that associations confront difficulties in maintaining themselves beyond the first few years, when the enthusiasm that accompanied their creation dwindles.

The Harrow Women's Association was started in 1976 by Gujarati women who came from Uganda. Some 200 members joined during the first months. Each new member filled in a form, specifying her special fields of interests, so that the association could, if necessary, utilize the expertise of the members. The association ran Gujarati classes for children and English classes for elderly women, as well as a variety of other functions. From 1980, however, when a new president was elected, the association seemed to have lost its momentum. Most of its functions, from then onwards, were organized as one-off events, and by 1985 the association had only 75 members. When the study was completed, however, it seemed that the association became active again. Poetry readings, cookery demonstrations and other functions were organized, and a grant was obtained from the GLC to organize a women's day.

Finally, a comment should be made on the political activities (that is, party political) of Harrow Gujaratis. There are a few reasons for a comment. First, since this study is concerned with the organisation of Gujaratis in general, it should be expected that political affiliation may have influence on associations which they organize. Personal rivalries between Gujarati activists are not unrelated to their political affiliation. Second, political affiliation is closely related to their access to the local political scene and at times to access to funds. And, third, internal leadership may effectively be an intermediary stage, leading to a fully-fledged political career. It thus should be added that most Gujarati activists to which the following chapter refers

were members of political parties, a fact which most of them did not hide.

Gujaratis who joined political parties did not - on the whole - join associations or organisations which were not founded by Asians. Similar observations about the inactivity of Asians in non-Asian associations are made by Shaw (1982) and by Cohen (1984-85), in her study of Asians in Hutton.

In 1976 the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society (AACS) was established, addressing itself to the platform of the Conservatiee party.[12] In 1981, the AACS supported the new Nationality Act. One of its Asian members explained that Asians ought to recognize that Britain was a small island and a heavily populated one. This, combined with growing unemployment, justified his view that measures be taken against the entrance of Asian families. He regretted, though, that some families subsequently could not be united.

Gujaratis are concerned with the record of their parties vis-à-vis race relations issues and in particular with their policies (or the lack of them) on immigration. Some Gujaratis in the Conservative party felt that the policy of their party on these matters was unacceptable to them, but said that as long as they could voice their opinions they would remain. Yet others were concerned either with their own prospects of election to Harrow Council, or with those of their Asian counterparts in the party. If efforts to be selected as a candidate were exhausted, an activist would at times leave his or her

party. For example, an Indian activist in one of the Liberal party branches in Harrow (he was its secretary for about seven years), left for the Labour party when his efforts to be selected seemed to have reached a dead end. In May 1986 local elections he stood as an independent candidate, and so did three other Asians, none of whom were elected to the Council.

These candidates belonged to the pressure groups and were active participants in the Council forums described in the following chapter.

Notes (chapter 2)

(1) The correspondence between the Council and the bodies which were involved in the reception, as well as the minutes of the Committees set up for dealing with the reception were made available through the Council. These documents were filed separately (in a special file) and are normally found in the Council's own library.

(2) Adams and others, who followed the settlement of Ugandan Asians in Britain, India and Canada, found that in Britain "if kin were available, they helped" (1983:250).
In contrast to India and Canada, they add, the availability of kin in Britain was affected by the dispersal policy. The key form of aid was the opening of residence to the newly arrived relatives. Otherwise, financial help and the provision of food were the most prevalent forms of aid.

(3) Sir Charles Cunningham, in outlining the objectives of the URB, explained that after getting families into their own homes, the second objective was "to encourage as many families as possible to settle outside areas which are known to be already under stress because of the number of people from other parts of the Commonwealth who are living there. The Board has not, in general, placed families in such areas unless houses were offered by the local authority" (1973:265). He also mentions that the expellees were advised in the airports not to go into areas "under stress".

(4) Special committees, such as the Special Committee on Uganda Asians, are formed to deal with a particular problem or event and are disbanded when circumstances permit (Byrne, 1981). Unlike other committees, which normally meet five or six times a year, special committees meet as often as required.

(5) The Policy and Resources Committee in Harrow co-ordinates the work of six services committees. It is responsible for the provision, management, allocation, control and use of the financial, manpower and land resources of the Council. Matters such as the allocation of resources for the settlement of expellees would therefore be first discussed in a meeting of this committee.

(6) These details were provided by Cyril Harrison, in a conversation held in April 1985. In 1972, Labour was the majority party in Harrow Council, and Cyril Harrison headed the Council between 1971-1974. In 1974 the Conservatives won the elections and became the majority party. Cyril Harrison continued to be a Council member till May 1986.

(7) The organisations to send representatives to the Co-ordinating committee were: Harrow Council of Churches, Harrow Community Relations Council, Co-operative Women's Guild, Harrow Council of Social Service, Harrow YWCA, Greater Harrow Chamber of Commerce, Asian Women's Association and Middlesex New Synagogue.

(8) I had the opportunity to observe this custom myself in the course of my field work. In 1983, when I conducted the interviews in Northwick Park Hospital, there were two women whose English was poor. Both were newly arrived and - since the interviews were bound to be lengthy - I later interviewed them at their homes, in English and Gujarati. They were accommodated by their relatives and later moved to their own homes.
In 1984, a Kenyan family joined its relatives in Harrow, who were living in a two bedroom semi-detached house. For a whole year eight people lived in this house, till both husband and wife found work. Eventually, they bought their own home in Harrow.
With regard to the extent that such aid was given I generally relied on secondary resources, such as are mentioned in note 2 above. No data is available on the number of expellees or other Asians settling in the Borough who were accommodated by their relatives.

(9) The following example illustrates the newspaper's own attitude: in a reception held by the local branch of the National Association of the Patidar Samaj, the Mayor referred to the Asian community as 'British citizens of Asian origin'. Nevertheless, "Harrow Observer"'s headline on the event announced "Asian immigrants told: 'you have enriched the community of Harrow'" (14 February 1978).

(10) The motion read: "That this House calls on Her Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State for the Home Department to introduce by Order under the Immigration Acts of 1968 and 1971 a temporary moratorium on further new immigration for permanent settlement in the United Kingdom of applicants who have not yet received entry certificates, pending full and urgent discussions with all the member countries in the establishment of a Commonwealth-wide quota and resettlement scheme" ("Harrow Observer, 8 June 1976).

(11) The idea of creating an umbrella organisation of all Indian associations in Britain came from the Indian High Commissioner at the time, B.K. Nehru, and representatives of Indian organisations met in Leicester in 1975, to discuss the setting up of such an association. The Confederation was established in September 1975, its objectives being to co-ordinate the efforts of all Indian organisations, and to

integrate British Indians into the British way of life without losing their Indian national identity. It was also intended to promote a better image of Indians and the interests of the Indian community cultural, social and political. Kanti Nagda was its first Secretary.

(12) The aims of the Society, as defined by its members, are: "to provide support for Conservative policies, to assist the UK Asian communities to participate more fully in the political, cultural and social life of Britain, and to encourage the Conservative sympathies which many Asians inherently possess". According to Anwar (1986:85-86) the formation of the Anglo-Asian Conservative Society was one of the first initiatives that the Conservative party took to encourage ethnic minorities to join the party. This was followed by the formation of an Anglo-West Indian Conservative Society with the same aims.

CHAPTER 3

RACE RELATIONS IN HARROW - THE 1980s

Whereas the consolidation years saw a considerable growth of the Gujarati population in Harrow, in the 1980s there has been relative demographic stability, i.e movement of Asians in and out of the Borough has considerably decreased.

The proliferation of voluntary activity has continued and with it, as this section underlines, an intensification of the debate beteen Harrow ethnic minorities and the Council. Whereas representatives of the ethnic community raised more demands, Harrow Council, in turn, became more aware of the role which the ethnic community was likely to assume in the future in the political scene. This was initially a slow process that gradually intensified following a number of events which took place in Harrow and in Britain as a whole.

The ethnic community was dependent on the Council for Urban Aid and grant aid allocation and wished to see more black people employed in Section 11 posts. It was also of the opinion that black people were not proportionately represented in the Council's workforce. Since the Council was the largest employer in the Borough and since unemployment was increasing, the employment of more members of the ethnic community could have alleviated the job situation.

Indeed, as data provided by Harrow Resource Centre indicate, unemployment amongst the ethnic community increased considerably in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. A

survey of Harrow Asian community (HEAP, 1985) found that 17 per cent were registered as unemployed, a figure considerably higher than that for the whole population in Harrow - 6 per cent. Between 1971 and 1981 the number of Harrow residents working in the manufacturing industry declined by 36.3 per cent and more residents became dependent on the service and the public sector for job opportunities (Harrow Resource Centre, 1985). The fact that the Council had 8,000 employees (including part-timers) induced the ethnic community to direct its efforts in demand for more jobs within the Council's workforce.

The ethnic community acted through different channels to achieve various goals in fields such as employment, housing and education. Ethnic associations were amongst applicants for Urban Aid grants, and thus were competing for the same resources. The Council was able to submit a few applications each year and could not apply on behalf of all candidates. With regard to grant aid, e.g such as was given by the Council's Leisure Committee, the procedure favoured associations which had previously received this grant, and new applicants were unlikely to receive it. Some Asian activists, however, were convinced that ethnic associations were intentionally excluded from receiving grant aid.

Conflicts also arose, for example, when the Council introduced a requirement that some Section 11 employees should speak Gujarati. Pakistani representatives thought that this was 'divisive', for other Asian languages were also spoken by Asians in the Borough. On the whole,

Pakistanis did not go along with the suggestions on the use of Section 11 put forward by activists from other ethnic minorities. Finally, however, when the issue was put to a vote in a meeting of the Community Liaison Working Party (see below), the ethnic community decided that it did not wish Harrow Council to renew Section 11 posts. I later expand on this particular debate (see 3.3.4).

In any case, it would be unjustified to speak of 'an ethnic community' as if its members worked together in mutual understanding. In fact, there was no pressure group in Harrow that was unanimously supported by all Asian minorities in Harrow, though there were pressure groups whose name incorporated the word 'Asian', e.g Harrow Asian Action Group, to denote that their campaign was equally relevant to all Asian minorities in the Borough. Thus, the term 'ethnic community', used throughout the thesis, denotes that a section of the population is not of white British descent.

A policy statement made by the Borough of Harrow, in 1980 (see appendix VI) with respect of its equal opportunities fuelled the debate between the Council and the ethnic community. The Equal Opportunities policy was intended to eliminate sex discrimination, in accordance with the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. Yet it was widely believed, both by the Council and by the ethnic community, that sex discrimination or discrimination of people with disability was not a major issue. The fact that the brief of the Equal Opportunities adviser, subsequently appointed by the Council, was "to develop positive initiatives...

with particular emphasis on employment practices in relation to the minority ethnic communities" further certified that this statement was effectively addressed to the ethnic community.

Once the statement (whose wording was borrowed from a similar statement made by Berkshire County) was made, expectations mounted that 'action' would follow. The Council, however, was slow to take any initiative. Rather, it appears that without pressure exerted by Asian activists or institutions from outside, e.g the Home Office, nothing at all would have been done to implement this policy.

A number of committees, though, were set up during the early 1980s to deal with issues concerning ethnic minorities in the Borough. The creation of the Working Party on Racial Assaults (WPRA) was followed by the Police/ Community Consultative Committee (PCCC). The WPRA later changed its name to Community Liaison Working Party (CLWP); both committees were in operation by the end of 1985. During 1985 the CLWP decided to establish a forum where representatives of the Borough's ethnic minorities would advise the Council on policies that affected the ethnic community. Various residents' associations objected to the creation of this forum but their suggestion that another forum should be created for all residents of the Borough was turned down.

The following sections provide a general demographic picture of Harrow's population. The chapter then proceeds to a more detailed description of the events briefly summarised above, and to an analysis of the

relationships between Harrow and the ethnic community. All events mentioned in this chapter have taken place before March, 1986.

3.1 Mapping the Ethnic Population

Due to the absence of a direct ethnic minority question in the 1981 Census, Harrow used the birthplace of the head of the household as a proxy indicator of ethnic status. Where the birthplace of the head of household was in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan (NCWP) all household members were assigned as NCWP residents. This method creates a certain bias, for it implies that other members of a household belong to the head of household's ethnic group. In the future, however, in view of the growing number of British born Asians and Afro-Caribbeans and the growth of inter-marriage, this indicator will have even less validity than now (cf. CRE, 1978).

About a quarter of Harrow's total population belongs to ethnic minorities, and about 15 per cent of the total population has a head of household born in NWCP (these figures, as well as the following, were produced by the Inter-Departmental Ethnic Minorities Working Party in Harrow, 1982). The 1981 Small Area Statistics, compiled by the source above, provide a more detailed breakdown of Harrow's ethnic population. East African Asians are by far the largest NCWP minority. They number 9,914 persons, and Indian born follow with 6,407 persons (57 and 37 per cent of the Asian population respectively). Only 828 and 213 household heads were born in Pakistan and in Bangladesh respectively.

In a more recent survey of the whole Asian population in Harrow (including those born in the United Kingdom), conducted by Harrow Ethnic Action Project, a similar picture emerges. About 52 per cent of the 1984 Asian population in Harrow were born in East Africa, 34 per cent were born in India and less than two per cent were born in the United Kingdom (HEAP, 1985).

The age structure of Harrow's NCWP residents differs from that of the rest of the population: 4 per cent are over pensionable age, compared with about 20 per cent for the whole of the Borough; about 28 per cent are under 16, compared with about 21 per cent for the whole of the Borough. According to the Labour Force Survey, conducted in 1981 (Central Statistics Office, 1983), less than 3 per cent of the Asian population in Britain is over pensionable age, and 36 per cent is under 16. Thus, not only is Harrow's population older than the local Asian population but its Asian population is older than the Asian population in Britain as a whole.

Regarding the birth rate, in the second half of the 1970s the percentage of Asian birth in Harrow steadily increased and in 1980 it was 20 per cent of the total number of births in Northwick Park Hospital (Harrison, 1980), which serves mainly the Borough of Harrow. Its catchment area includes Pinner, Rayner's Lane, West Harrow, Stanmore, Wealdstone, Harrow Weald and Kenton. Only Wembley Park and Sudbury Hill fall outside Harrow's boundaries. Since 1980 the proportion of Asian births in Harrow has not increased.

These findings appear to agree with the observations of Muthaia and Jones (1983). They have found that the fertility rates of British Indians are decreasing, as the fertility rates of all Indians tend to decrease dramatically upon migration at a much faster pace than either that of their respective region in India, or that of the host population.

With regard to the school-age population there is no regular monitoring in Harrow of ethnic affiliation, but some figures are available. In a review on Section 11 (CLWP minutes, appendix 4a, 29 October 1985) the following figures were provided: in 1977 about 10 per cent of all children attending the Borough's schools spoke a language other than English at home. It was thought that most of these children were Asian.

In 1983 5,261 children of school-age, comprising 20 per cent of the total school population, had parents born in New Commonwealth countries. These figures are not based on the same definition of ethnic affiliation (which was used in the 1977 enumeration) and are therefore not comparable. From my own observations, many Asian children speak English at home, and thus the first counting probably excluded some Asian children.

The 1983 figures, however, broke down as follows:

Sixth Form Colleges - 25 per cent

High Schools - 16 per cent

First and Middle Schools - 21 per cent

Asian children were not equally dispersed amongst the Borough's schools. In some schools over 50 per cent of the children were Asian, and in one of the First schools it was

as much as 70 per cent. These schools had additional staff from the ESL scheme who were teaching those whose mother tongue was not English.

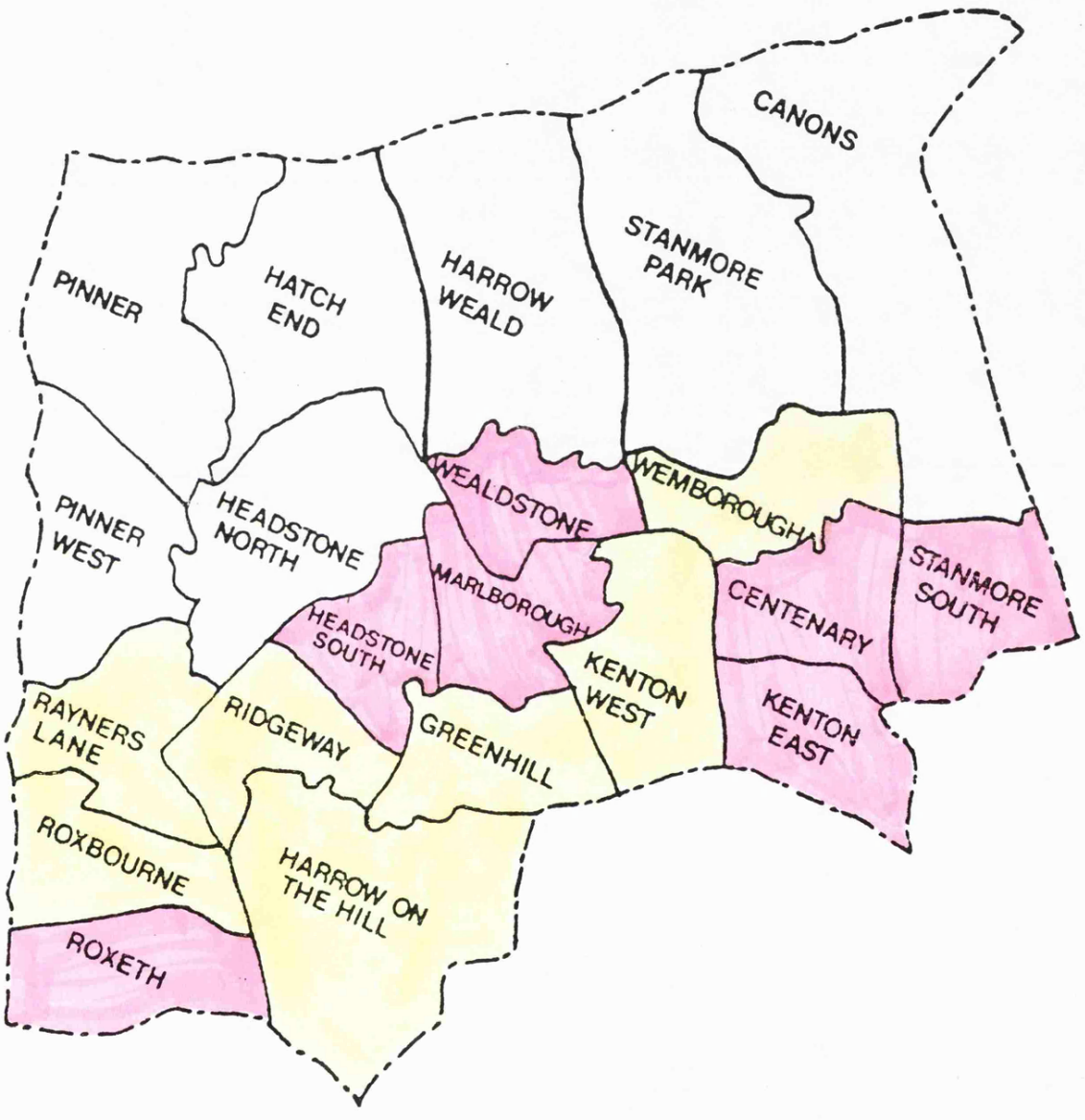
While natural growth is unlikely to contribute significantly to the growth of the Asian population in Harrow, migration is also unlikely to cause any change in the ethnic composition of the Borough's population. This should be considered against evidence which shows that internal outweighs external migration: about two thirds of the 1984 Asian population in the Borough previously lived in other parts of the United Kingdom (HEAP, 1985). The number of Asians settling in Harrow, nonetheless, has considerably declined since the 1970s when, in a four year period (1973-1977), their proportion in the 1984 Asian population almost doubled. According to HEAP, 42 per cent of the 1984 Asian population settled in the Borough during the period above, against 11.6 per cent between 1982 and 1984. This decline is probably due to the growing unemployment, which affects more severely the Asian population in the Borough (Harrow Resource Centre, 1985).

Finally, regarding the dispersal of Asians in the Borough, it is evident that they tend to concentrate in specific wards, mainly in the southern parts of the Borough (Harrow Digest of Census Statistics, 1982). While in all the northern wards less than 10 per cent of their population were of Asian origin, none of the southern wards had a smaller proportion (see Map 2).

Figures published by the GLC on the basis of the 1981 Census (Davies, 1984) show that these areas were much more likely to suffer deprivation compared with the northern

HARROW

Map 2 : % of Residents in Households with the Head of Household Born in NCWP



Source: 1981 Census
SAS table 37

0-10%
11-20%
Above 20%

wards. The three wards which had the largest proportion of household heads born in NCWP - Kenton East, Stanmore South and Marlborough (27.5, 26.45, and 25.05 per cent respectively), are the wards which suffered greater deprivation in almost all the indicators (unemployment, low skill, overcrowding, lack of amenities, single parent household, pensioners and ethnic origin). Unemployment rates amongst the economically active (aged between 16 and retirement age) NCWP population reached 7 per cent. With regard to overcrowding a comparison shows similar results. Both Kenton East and Stanmore South have more than 7 per cent of their total households in overcrowded permanent accommodation. In other wards, by comparison, overcrowding was as little as 1 per cent or under.

The figures of the combined standardized score (the indicators above were combined into a single index using a standardized score technique) further support the suggestion that such a correlation does exist. The three wards to suffer the greatest deprivation, as calculated by the standardized score, are the three wards mentioned above. Inasmuch as ethnic origin is used as an indicator of deprivation, then it seems that the combined score conceals that a priori assumption: it becomes tautologous, and misleading.

3.2 Administering Race Relations - The Organisation

In March 1982, the Working Party on Racial Assaults (WPRA) was established to discuss issues that concerned ethnic minorities in Harrow. This was the first Council committee to be established for consultation with the ethnic community. Another forum, the Ethnic Minorities Working Party, had already been set up to liaise between Harrow's various departments on matters concerning ethnic minorities. It was composed of assistant controllers and other Borough officials. It was not a Council committee and was not accountable to the Council. Its recommendations were sent to the directors' group, a forum comprised of directors of all the authority's departments. The absence of representatives from the ethnic community in the Ethnic Minorities Working Party aroused some criticism and two such representatives, who were not Council employees, were co-opted in 1985.

The first step taken by the WPRA was to draw up its own brief. It intended to remove and prevent graffiti, give greater publicity to the Council's Equal Opportunities policy and consider the role of education in improving relationships within the community. These steps were taken "to help to foster good community relations generally" (WPRA minutes, 22 March 1982). The name of this committee did not reflect its brief, but it probably reflected an awareness that racial harassment was a major cause of anxiety to members of the ethnic community. Nonetheless, the committee's name was changed, after the 1982 local elections, to the Community Liaison Working Party (CLWP),

"to reflect more precisely the work being undertaken" (CLWP minutes, 27 May 1982).

Following recommendations made by the WPRA, the Manpower Sub-Committee decided to incorporate all recruitment advertisements with a phrase emphasizing the Council's Equal Opportunities policy. In addition, the issue of ethnic monitoring was put to the vote. This issue had already been put to the vote in October 1979 by the Policy and Resources Committee, but a majority of the councillors were opposed to it. This time, however, the Manpower Sub-Committee voted in favour of ethnic monitoring. An officer of Harrow CRC explained that the objection to ethnic monitoring by the Jewish community influenced the Council when it first voted on the issue. By the time Harrow voted again, other local authorities had already decided to carry out ethnic monitoring.

The Manpower Sub-Committee acknowledged that the motion followed a recommendation of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations that "employers record information on the employment of ethnic minorities with their organisation". In another reference (CLWP minutes, 27 May 1982) it was mentioned that the decision to carry out monitoring followed guidelines contained in the CRE's booklet "Local Government and Racial Equality" (CRE, 1982).

This discrepancy between references is significant, for different Council committees were not equally informed, or, rather, were not equally aware of developments that took place either inside or outside the Borough. Beyond the fact that the Council was a statutory body and an administrative

unit that was accountable to the electorate, it was not in any way a unified body whose actions were fully co-ordinated. I shall later return to issues that relate to information and its dissemination, but meanwhile I should clarify that references to the Council (rather than to its committees or officials) are made in the thesis only with regard to those actions it resolved to take.

Two years elapsed before the Council decided to publicize its Equal Opportunities policy. Since no information on the policy was disseminated and no ethnic monitoring conducted, it is doubtful whether it had any effect prior to 1982.

Soon after the establishment of the WPRA it was decided to establish another forum which would be called the Police and Community Consultative Committee (PCCC). The new committee was assigned a role of 'consultation', i.e it was authorised to make recommendations to the Council, but had no executive power. And, though administered by the Council, it was not a Council committee. Running costs were thus reimbursed by the Metropolitan Police Fund (Home Office Guidelines, 16 June 1982).

The establishment of the PCCC followed a letter from the Home Office. The letter recommended that the Police should liaise, via local authorities, with the community. Hence, the WPRA began to seek suitable representatives of the local community. This letter, in turn, followed recommendations made by Lord Scarman in the aftermath of the Brixton riots:

> ...that a statutory framework be developed to require local consultation between the Metropolitan Police and the community at Borough or Police District level. The possibility of an Advisory Board or other consultative arrangements between the Home Office, the Commissioner and the London Boroughs at force level should also be studied (Scarman Report, 1981:130).

As discussions on the structure of this forum began, Harrow CRC put forward the relevant proposals drafted by the National Association of Community Relations Councils (NACRC). It was suggested that elected representatives of community organisations be invited to affiliate (to the PCCC) by applying for membership, and that they affirmed their commitment to the aims of the committee.

Harrow CRC took the task of providing information on minority groups that could be represented on the committee, and thus became the arbitrator between Harrow Council and the ethnic community. In other words, Harrow CRC was given the power to determine what ethnic minorities and which of their associations would have the opportunity to make their voice heard. This is indicative of the symbiotic relationships that had developed previously between Harrow Council and the local CRC. In the face of increasing pressure exerted by ethnic groups, it suited Harrow Council to turn to an institution which, unlike independent members of the ethnic community, was in some measure restricted in its actions. This may at first seem like an exercise of keeping more vociferous or controversial representatives away. However, councillors were genuinely concerned about the procedure of selecting representatives of the ethnic community for consultation. Naturally, various activists

came forward and suggested themselves for different tasks, but there was no way - some councillors felt - to verify in what way these activists represented ethnic minorities in the Borough.

Notwithstanding the fact that the role of Harrow CRC was to protect the interests of ethnic minorities (an officer in Harrow CRC once described it as the 'watchdog' of the Council), all ethnic minorities in the Borough had equal access to the CRC. In addition, the CRC's executive was democratically elected by the membership, a procedure which was not always carried out within individual ethnic associations. Indeed, precisely because its membership included representatives of various ethnic minorities who otherwise did not co-operate, it appears that the CRC was 'more representative' than a collection of individual associations which would have come forward. Hence, the fact that Harrow Council turned to the CRC for consultation cannot be seen as a purely manipulative step designed to keep away non-member representatives. In addition, Harrow CRC was - at that stage - the only organisation that collected information on the Council and that was regularly updated on matters that influenced ethnic minorities in Britain. It disseminated information via its newsletter and also held public meetings on various issues that were relevant to the ethnic community. The fact that Harrow CRC was regularly updated was reflected in various suggestions that it drafted, e.g how to set up the PCCC.

The co-operation of the Council with Harrow CRC prevented the latter from becoming more 'militant' in its

views (cf. Cohen, 1984-85). Yet any form of co-operation with the Council raised the expectations of Harrow's CRC membership and staff that the Council would eventually become more responsive to the needs of ethnic minorities. As will later become evident, this observation applies equally to individual activists, inside or outside the CRC.

Some Asian activists, however, began at that stage to criticize Harrow CRC for 'being a part of the racist establishment, just like Harrow Council'. It was seen by them as racist qua institution, for it was established by the 'white' administration (see Katzenelson, 1976, on 'buffer institutions'). Some activists, and particularly those who identified themselves as 'black', later withdrew from Harrow CRC. These, apparently, were mostly Gujarati activists. By 1985, there was no Gujarati member on the executive, and the CRC was seen - by some Gujaratis - as a 'Pakistani stronghold'.

In 1982, however, Harrow CRC was dissatisfied with the Terms of Reference of the prospective PCCC, and put forward several amendments. Some of these amendments were accepted. The Police held the view that community representation should not be limited to ethnic minorities and that other community organisations should be affiliated to the PCCC. It reiterated that the committee should address itself to the wider community and was wary that ethnic minority groups would be 'over-represented'. Nevertheless, the Police thought that the committee "should be viewed not as a replacement for normal Police/Community liaison, but as a supplement" (WPRA minutes, 22 April 1982). The Police,

nonetheless, did not explain why supplementary consultation with the same population was required.

Another problem was the size of the PCCC. Since it had to be manageable there was a need to restrict the number of community (ethnic or indigenous) representatives. It was suggested that, alternatively, 'many' associations would be affiliated to the PCCC. Representatives, in this case, would have needed to elect an executive to represent them.

As a result of the publicity (mainly in local papers) on the setting up of the forum, 86 local associations approached the Council in order to be represented on the committee. Hence, the PCCC attracted the attention of local associations, all of which were seeking ways and means of making their opinions heard with a view to exercising a certain amount of influence on Harrow Council.

The first meeting of the PCCC was held in November 1982, with representatives of the Council and the Metropolitan Police; Harrow CRC had two representatives on the committee, one Jewish and the other Gujarati. In addition, representatives of 10 community organisations were elected to sit on the committee and 4 delegates of associations which were not elected were co-opted. The structure mentioned above, therefore, was not accepted.

The Gujarati representative of Harrow CRC was particularly active on the issue of racial harassment. He chaired Harrow CRC's Police and Racial Harassment Working Party and demanded, on various forums, that firmer measures be taken against people who committed racial assaults. However, it was not till October 1984 that the matter was

raised in the PCCC. Until then most meetings were centred around discussions on the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill, amendments to the constitution of the PCCC and other matters.

A Bill to outlaw racial harassment against householders and tenants was proposed in November 1984. It was supported by the CRE, and also by Harrow CRC. If passed, it would have made racial harassment a specific criminal offence punishable by a fine of £5,000 or 5 years in prison. It would have also given local authorities power to evict tenants convicted of the offence[1]. After the Bill was dropped, it was proposed that Hugh Dykes MP be requested to enter the ballot for a private Members' Bill and, if successful, sponsor a similar Bill through Parliament. Dykes, however, felt that 'a bill on racial harassment was not the most effective approach to the problem' (PCCC minutes, 24 June 1985).

Harrow CRC went further to state that:

> The Housing Department of the local authority has the most important role to play in prevention of racial harassment in housing estates by inserting a clause that tenants who carry out harassment will be evicted and lose their right to alternative Council housing in the Borough (1984-85 Annual Report:13).

Harrow Council, however, emphasized that it was almost impossible to bring to court offenders charged with racial assaults and that such a clause would be ineffective. In the course of a long debate, which continued in the PCCC till 1986, Harrow finally decided that no measures be taken in its housing estates against offenders. Most Asian activists concluded that the Council was not committed to

combating racial harassment, and considered withdrawing their participation from this forum.

In 1982, soon after the establishment of the PCCC, Harrow CRC produced a report on Social Services provision in Harrow. The report urged the Council to adopt a policy concerning provisions for ethnic minorities. On ground of the newness of the ethnic population, its cultural distinctiveness and its deprivation (the essence of this report reminds one report of the CRE on social services, published in 1978) the CRC demanded that the Council should formulate a policy which would improve its record on Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976[2]. This section placed a duty on local authorities to promote good race relations by providing training to 'racial groups' /sic/ so as to enable them to apply for jobs in which they had been under-represented. An endorsement by Harrow Council of such a revision would have committed it to a comprehensive reorganisation of its Social Services.

Harrow did not take on board the recommendations of that report nor considered them seriously. It never began to move forward in the direction indicated, for example, by monitoring the take up of Social Services, like the report suggested. Till 1985 the only form of monitoring carried out in Harrow was that of its workforce, and even this was conducted long after the first Equal Opportunities adviser was appointed, in 1982.

Hence, Harrow CRC, despite its favourable position, had no way of imposing its suggestions on the Council. It is evident, therefore, that outside its role as a mediator

One example that indicates the frustration of ethnic representatives is well illustrated by an incident that occurred in January, 1986. Ethnic participants in a PCCC meeting walked out when they were prohibited from answering a comment made by the leader of the Council. This incident, which followed a heated debate on racial assaults, signalled a breakdown of the dialogue between the Council and ethnic representatives and perhaps marked the climax of a gradual process of disenchantment.

Ethnic representatives therefore repeatedly asked for the purpose of these forums. 'Why do you ask for our opinion' they said, 'if you have no intention to listen to us?'. It is interesting to note, in this context, that the disillusionment of ethnic representatives arose parallel to the Council's growing attempts (however fragmented) to establish a dialogue with the ethnic community. I later expand on the emergence of ethnicity in the context of local authority responses (see pp. 209-223). At this stage, before discussing the meetings of the CLWP,

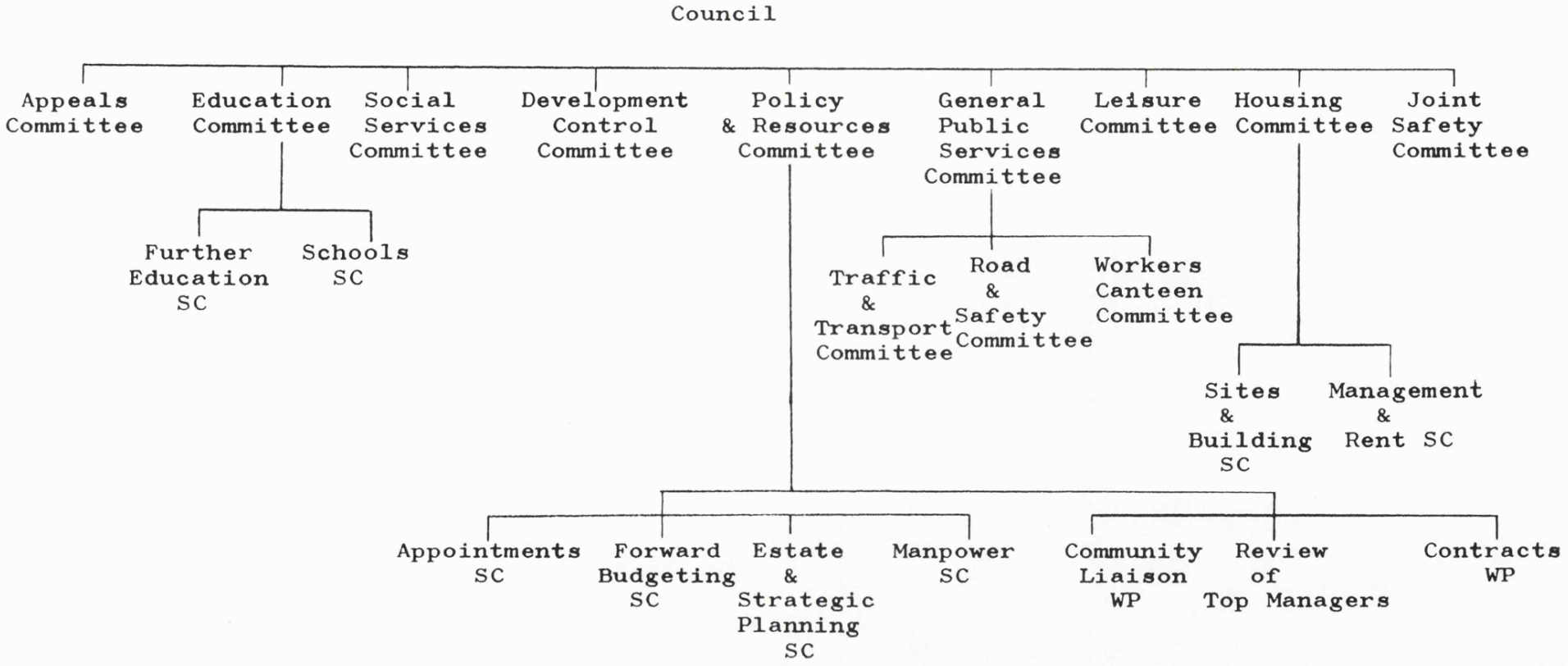
I would like to comment on Gaynor Cohen's observation that local authorities are one of the strongest forces in promoting ethnicity.

Cohen, whose own study was conducted in Hutton, suggests that ethnicity did not mark a temporary phase of adjustment during which traditional customs were transplanted from the country of origin. It was a new response to the immediate social, economic and political environment. For many people it was a means of improving their opportunities to compete with other groups. For a minority

it was a reaction to actual or perceived racialism practised by the majority in Hutton (1984-85:99).

As she herself admits, each ethnic minority could have been likened to a 'mini society'. In other words, communal relationships were strong irrespective of the response of Hutton Council. As was already mentioned about Harrow, once the Council began a dialogue with the ethnic community, expectations were raised and eventually led to disillusionment. It would probably be true to say that the onus of the locally-based ethnic organisation shifted, as a result of the Council response, towards strengthening of associative organisation of a particular kind. The fact that several pressure groups began to form after 1982 confirms this observation. Yet it is something quite different to describe the ethnicity of any segment of the Asian population as essentially political. The following section further explores this political dimension but - as the following chapters will demonstrate - the portrayal of this dimension should be balanced against other aspects of the social organisation of the minority studied.

Diagram 1



SC = Sub-Committee
WP = Working Party

3.3 The Hidden Agenda

In the course of the consultation councillors became acquainted with activists, mainly Asians who were involved in one (and often more than one) of Harrow's ethnic associations. This was a two way process. As well as demonstrating the place of informal contacts, these forums had an intrinsic value in the evolution of race relations in Harrow.

Before further expanding on the working of the CLWP, this committee should be placed within the overall structure of Harrow Council (see diagram facing the page). The CLWP reports to the Policy and Resources Committee (in fact, members of the CLWP normally also sit on the Policy and Resources Committee) but, unlike other sub-committees, e.g Manpower Sub-Committee, it has not been delegated the power that these committees have. Decisions are generally made in committees, unless they are directly related to the Council or if the committees wish to defer certain decisions to the Council. Hence, decisions concerning ethnic minorities in the Borough may be taken without consulting the CLWP, a fact that partly explains the disappointment of the ethnic community in this forum.

Asian representatives gradually became familiar with the manner in which Council meetings were conducted and decisions resolved and executed. An agenda for each individual meeting of the CLWP was drawn up by committee members and was circulated amongst participants. At times, the information required for a certain discussion was sent only a day or two before a meeting. Ethnic

representatives commented on this procedure and also disapproved of the inadequacy of the information provided by the Council. This disapproval was expressed in the strongest of terms. 'We feel dismayed and humiliated' said one activist, 'by the way you treat us'. Ethnic representatives also resented the fact that all meetings were conducted on Council premises. 'You should come to us', they said and added that councillors were isolated from the Asian community and knew little about it.

Any meeting of the CLWP, from the beginning, proceeded to accusations made by ethnic representatives on one hand, and 'clarifications' made by the chairperson, on the other. When, for example, representatives asked for certain information, the chairperson either apologized for not having it, or said that such information could not be obtained. Complaints and accusations immediately followed. Sometimes a few months would elapse before the CLWP provided the information requested. Alternatively, the chairperson commented that a certain argument was of no relevance to the meeting, that it would be discussed at a later date, or that the speaker's opinion was not shared by other representatives. In short, the chairperson had a repertoire of stock answers at his disposal. A comment was not relevant when it did not enhance the interests of the committee as he conceived them. Otherwise, numerous items which were not listed on the agenda were discussed, often at length.

'We are here to consult you' he often retorted, 'so that you tell us what to do'. This tactic helped the

Council in two ways:

a. The chairperson, other councillors and Council representatives were able to assume a role of 'listeners', one which was designed to be passive. The Council, on its part, did not present suggestions of its own.

b. Meanwhile, ethnic representatives began to debate amongst themselves. That is, the discussion often drifted to an internal debate in which Council representatives could act as 'pacifiers'.

The minutes of the meetings did not reveal these proceedings. They also did not reflect all complaints and comments made by ethnic representatives, nor did they fully delineate their requests and queries. They were only meant to record resolutions, and ethnic representatives complained that the minutes were therefore inaccurate.

It became apparent that although the Council appeared to be on the defensive, this formula allowed it to continue the process without actually responding to the issues raised by the representatives or those listed on the agenda. Eventually, a representative of one pressure group, the Asian Parents Group, spelt out this state of affairs and pointed to the fact that the chairperson allowed each debate to drift, till it became a series of accusations and apologies. His comment, made amidst one of these meetings, gained little attention. In fact, it appears that accusations gradually lost their impact.

When ethnic representatives first blamed councillors for being racist, the latter said that they were not racists and that they did not like to be called racists. Rather,

they claimed, racism was manifested by a minority of people. They themselves, it was admitted, were not free of prejudice, but they could be helped by such means as Racism Awareness Training (RAT)[3]. Both councillors and Asian activists, however, agreed that RAT could not influence 'true' racists. Nevertheless, Asian activists believed that some councillors (whose names they did not forget to mention) were 'true' racists. Moreover, it appears that accusations were designed to put councillors to the test. On a few occasions, indeed, councillors did make the offensive remarks that later labelled them as racists.

As mentioned earlier, ethnic representatives were well aware that consultative procedures, of whatever forum, did little to enhance the welfare of the Asian community. While repeatedly 'threatening' the Council that the Asian community would not support the Council in the coming local elections (8 May 1986), they explored informal channels of finding information in addition to examining more effective ways of imposing at least some of their demands.

For example, when the Council called a meeting on the use of Section 11 in the Housing Department, two homeless families were brought and one gave evidence as to the way it was treated by a Housing officer. An officer in the Housing Department, apparently, told the homeless man that he should return to India where accommodation would certainly be guaranteed. In the face of what seemed to be genuine evidence, a Council representative immediately

apologized and promised that the matter would be investigated before any action against this officer be taken. Both Asian and Afro-Caribbean representatives responded by demanding that a procedure be established to enable clients to identify Housing officers. When the Council representative remarked that trade unions disapproved of carrying name tags, ethnic representatives suggested that officers carry other badges that would identify them. The Council representative answered the above query only after it was repeated several times.

This was a common occurrence. Avoiding questions was facilitated by first permitting a number of points to be raised from the floor and then answering them 'en bloc'. Thus, when it came to the answers, some points were conveniently forgotten.

The example above, however, shows that it became increasingly difficult for the CLWP to ignore the evidence produced by ethnic representatives. It became apparent that Asian activists were able to expose discriminatory practices, and that the Council would be unable to continue - for a long period - a consultation procedure which gave ethnic minorities no power to determine their affairs.

Another issue should be raised on this 'hidden agenda'; the negotiating process, i.e the intensification of the relationships between councillors and Asian activists, carried with it benefits in terms of job opportunities for some of the activists. When the issue of Section 11 was discussed, a CRC member asked one activist for his opinion on Racism Awareness Training. 'We should

be in favour' the activist said, 'we need the jobs'. Activists were well aware of the job opportunities within the 'race relations industry'. It is not surprising, therefore, that one of the first suggestions made after the setting up of the consultative committee (see below) was to form a race relations unit in the Borough. Such a unit, presumably, would have been staffed mainly by Asians.

In one case, an activist became the manager of a community centre which he himself proposed to establish and was consequently 'neutralized' by the Council. This was not the only case where activists were incorporated into the Council's workforce.

This activist, Kanti Nagda, was the chairperson of the Anglo-Indian Art Circle. During the 1970s Nagda was in the front of various confrontations with the Council, and his name often appeared in the "Harrow Observer". His locally based association, the Anglo-Indian Art Circle, applied in 1979 for an Urban Aid grant. Harrow Council eventually decided to put this grant as a top priority and subsequently received funding for the establishment of a community centre (later called Sangat Community Centre). Apparently, when the Council looked for a manager for the community centre, Nagda left his job as an accountant and became its manager.

Both the Confederation of Indian Organisations and the Anglo-Indian Art Circle repeatedly appealed to the GLC for funds, and Nagda was successful in initiating various projects where considerable funding was given[4]. Furthermore, it was only after he became the manager of the community

centre that he was successful in obtaining grants. His ability to raise funds was unmatched by other activists in Harrow and certainly benefited the Council. For example, in a review of Social Services provision for the ethnic community, the Social Services Department listed a 12 seater mini-bus. Nowhere was it mentioned that Kanti Nagda obtained a GLC grant for running this service. In other words, the Social Services Department was claiming to provide a service which it did not finance. Moreover, the community centre was presented as a Social Services provision even though most of its activities did not justify this presentation.

After Nagda's appointment in 1982, the Anglo-Indian Art Circle remained registered with Harrow CRC but Nagda no longer protested on race relations issues. The Anglo-Indian Art Circle ceased to act as a pressure lobby.

Apparently, this 'neutralizing effect' was detrimental to the creation of a cohesive pressure lobby in Harrow. None of the Asian activists was ever certain which of their counterparts would 'betray' the group and join the Council workforce. In addition, there were no clear-cut rules upon which it was possible to establish who, so to speak, was a traitor. After all, activists highly valued what was seen as 'influencing from within'. One activist, for example, commented that the first priority of the black community was to have a number of members on the Council.

It is difficult to establish in what circumstances a member was excluded from his or her pressure group because, to my knowledge, there were only two incidents

where activists became Council employees. The activist mentioned above, Kanti Nagda, was treated with great respect. Asian activists never felt that they were excluded; his contacts and ability to obtain resources provided employment for a number of people[5], and the community centre provided the Gujarati community services which were highly valued.

Another activist, one of the founder members of a small group called ARRAG (Anti-Racist Response and Action Group), was employed by the Council following her involvement in English as Second Language teaching and later in RAT. Apart from advising the Council on RAT, she was consulted on matters whose nature was not disclosed (either by her or the Council). Some activists believed that her work impinged on their attempts to establish direct consultation with the Council and brought the matter to a meeting on Section 11 provision. They subsequently demanded that she appear and give an account of the nature of her job. All the activists were aware that such a demand would reveal the existence of a serious rift in their lobby, but probably decided to respond in this fashion in order to create some form of sanction that would deter other activists from launching independent negotiations with the Council.

In addition, it appears that the scarcity of jobs designed to cater for the ethnic community led to fierce competition. A person who succeeded in finding a job with the Council therefore became a target of envy.

There were other circumstances, though, in which the loyalty of the activists was tried. On a few occasions representatives walked out of meetings, an act which signalled that the terms of reference for that particular debate were unacceptable. This act, which also provided a sense of unity amongst the protesters, became the means by which activists were assigned to either camp: that of the Council on one hand, or that of the activists on the other. The few who remained behind were called 'traitors' and lost the support of the activists.

In summary, it seems that in the face of strong objections from Harrow Council, and the strategies which it adopted to prevent any effective form of consultation with the ethnic community - activists often failed to unite and mobilize the membership of their associations. Activists often mentioned that they represented about 20 per cent of Harrow's population but what Council members saw was the same set of people who never - at any stage - spoke with one voice.

The following section concentrates on one issue which apparently coerced the Council into launching a new form of consultation, this time one which it described as a 'genuine' forum, through which ethnic minorities would be able to influence Council policies.

3.4 The Section 11 Debate

By 1985 Harrow received from the Home Office a grant of £415,600 under Section 11 scheme. The ethnic community thought that Section 11 funding was misused. Activists pointed to a complete 'mismatch' between the Council and the ethnic community as to the perceived needs of the latter.

Harrow CRC had often criticized the Council for not making use of Section 11 money, claiming that not enough use was made of this funding. Other Boroughs in Greater London, it pointed out, had spent more Section 11 money per capita than Harrow had. Waltham Forest, for example, with 17.3 per cent of residents from NCWP had spent £1,130,063 in 1982. Barnet, a Borough whose population was similar to Harrow in its socio-economic make-up, spent more money per capita under Section 11 (with 12.6 per cent of NCWP population Barnet spent £355,277 in the same year).

The greater part of Section 11 money was spent on educational provisions, mainly teaching English as second language to NCWP children[6]. In 1984, 53 full staff were employed under Section 11, the majority by the Education Department (31 school posts and 16 in further education).

After 1981 Harrow began to apply for more posts under Section 11. Under a formula arrangement, i.e on the basis of the number of NCWP children, the Home Office allocated funding for day nurseries. This allocation, however, was withdrawn after the Section 11 review (mentioned below). Two appointments for the Sangat Day Centre were made under Section 11 in 1982, and two more in

1984. The Borough's Equal Opportunities adviser was also employed under Section 11. In 1982, the Home Office approved an application for four specialist Asian social workers "to deal with clients with particular linguistic or cultural difficulties which make it difficult for them to take advantage of services currently available" (from a report of the Director of Social Services, 1986). One was based at Northwick Park Hospital and three social workers, all Gujarati speakers, worked in the Social Services Department.

The growing use of Section 11 money is particularly interesting, for Harrow did not comply with the Home Office regulations.

The first review (17 November 1982), required local authorities - for the first time - to show that "they have consulted the local Commonwealth immigrant community or the local community relations councils about the proposed post" (Home Office circular 97/1982). This step was taken in order to stop local authorities from abusing Section 11 provision. In other words, the Home Office suspected that Section 11 was used as a cheap way to employ more staff, presumably for the benefit of NCWP immigrants and their children. Another Home Office circular, dated 30 August 1983, further emphasized that:

> The main aim of the proposed review is to monitor the expenditure incurred under section 11 and to ensure that the funds in question continue to be spent in meeting the special needs of the intended beneficiaries... Local authorities are strongly encouraged to consult their Commonwealth immigrant community and the local community relations councils about this provision (Home Office Circular 94/1983).

Harrow did not consult its Commonwealth immigrant community and began considering consultation only when Section 11 funding was seriously threatened. An official from Harrow explained that applications were approved by the Home Office on ground that the Borough consulted with Harrow CRC. The Home Office, therefore, did not initially demand that its own regulations, according to which both the Commonwealth immigrant community and the CRC should be consulted, be implemented. Nevertheless, the Home Office was empowered to demand that local authorities comply with these regulations. Letters sent to Harrow during 1985 indicate that the Home Office was adamant in its request that consultation should take place. "Our current policy is that posts will not be approved for grant" clarifies one letter, "unless clear evidence of consultation is provided" (23 August 1985). By then the Council had already set up a consultation forum as the Home Office required (the Home Office did not specify, though, the nature of the consultation). The Home Office, for its part, was not obliged to follow recommendations made by the Commonwealth immigrant community .

Though negotiations on the setting up of this forum began in 1984, Harrow Council was not yet convinced (by 1985) that such a forum was necessary. When ethnic representatives first demanded that consultation with them should be institutionalized, the CLWP responded by saying that it was not "Empowered to agree to the establishment of a Joint Consultative Committee. Members of the Working party did however agree to discuss in order that they might

be better informed of particular needs of ethnic minorities" (CLWP minutes, 30 October 1984). In a public meeting to which representatives from a wide range of ethnic associations were invited, the demand for a forum was reiterated. Even at a later stage, when the CLWP agreed to set up a consultative forum, no mention was made of Section 11.

Once it was decided that a consultative forum be created, another public meeting was called. Representatives from various associations were invited to put forward their suggestions for the structure of this committee, and for its brief. Harrow CRC drafted a detailed suggestion, and two Asian associations submitted their own proposals. Residents associations objected to the setting up of a forum whose sole purpose would be to consult the ethnic community.

The CLWP finally agreed that the meetings of the consultative committee would be held to match the cycle of the Council, i.e six times a year. It was to be chaired by a councillor and not, as Harrow CRC and ethnic representatives proposed, by rotation. With regard to the status of this committee and its role within the structure of Harrow Council, the CLWP pointed out that "Although the committee will be solely a consultative body, it will have the opportunity to make recommendations to council committees" (CLWP minutes, agenda item no. 1, 11 July 1985). Apart from delegates of ethnic associations, who were invited to participate in the consultation, Harrow CRC was invited to attend in an 'advisory capacity'. In other words, the fact that activists had direct access to the Council undermined

the role of Harrow CRC; it no longer had the influence which it exercised, for example, when the PCCC was set up. In fact, a Harrow CRC officer was present at the meetings merely in a capacity of an observer.

The CLWP refused, however, to draft a constitution, or even to define the terms of reference of this forum. A number of issues to be discussed in following meetings were put forward; representatives suggested that first priority be given to Section 11.

A conference on the use of Section 11, organised by associations which were particularly involved in lobbying the Council, was convened in the town hall in October 1985 and decided on recommendations to be made in the consultative committee. The opinion of the majority of the participants was that "since this was the only funding available at the moment, they wished to work towards a position where the demands and needs of the black community became an integral part of mainstream expenditure" (CLWP minutes, 10 December 1985). This statement was carefully worded; a few activists were of the opinion that this funding was designed to 'marginalize black people' and that therefore it should be abolished. These representatives were in the minority, for the majority wished Section 11 funding to be gradually (rather than immediately) phased out; yet, being the most established Asian activists in Harrow, this minority was able to mobilize other activists to support their view. Some of the Hindu activists, in particular, felt that unless all activists united, the ethnic community would lose an opportunity to mobilize the Council.

An ad hoc forum was called, where both Muslim and Hindu leaders participated. This forum, which called itself Black Community Leaders Group first gathered in December 1985, in order to co-ordinate the response of the representatives in the forthcoming meetings of the consultative committee.

By then, all the representatives had agreed to the Council's suggestion that a series of public meetings on Section 11 be held. The Council, it appears, hoped that those activists who normally attended the meetings of the CLWP would not be able to draw support for their views in such a forum. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the purpose of these meetings; after all, the consultative committee - under the aegis of the CLWP - was recognized as the representative forum of the ethnic community.

Individual meetings on the use of Section 11 in housing, social services, education and manpower took place during February 1986. Though ethnic representatives were aware that no progress was being made, the Council did not come up with any suggestions. Muslim activists were reluctant to join the remainder of activists in a decision to withdraw Section 11 funding. At the final meeting, however, representatives repeatedly attempted to gain some assurances that the Council would meet some of their demands. For example, they suggested that the Council would guarantee the operation of a luncheon club for elderly Asians. The club was financed by the MSC for a limited period, and was the only one to have served the Asian elderly in the Borough.

Council representatives, on their part, emphasized that they were not in a position to give assurances, partly because the local elections, due later in 1986, could have changed the political constellation. Needless to say, representatives wanted to bargain with the Council and were not prepared to support Section 11 without any assurances that they would be rewarded. A motion to withdraw Section 11 funding was put forward and was supported by the majority of the representatives who attended the meeting (about 60 of them attended the meeting)[7].

It is too early, of course, to draw any conclusions on the significance of such an event and its implications in the long term for race relations in Harrow. In the short term, however, this consultation process had no influence on the allocation of Section 11 money. The following chapters further examine issues related to developments that took place during the 1980s, e.g the emergence of 'black'[8] Asians and the ideological framework of this identification. Chapter 4 examines this subject in the context of inter-generational changes, whereas chapter 5 expands on the organisational aspects of the Gujarati community in general.

Notes (chapter 3)

(1) The Parliamentary Bill on Racial Harassment, submitted by Mr Cohen MP, failed in 1985 to obtain a second reading in the House of Commons. This Bill intended, amongst other duties, to place a duty on landlords and local authorities to provide information on the rights and duties in relation to racial harassment and to make provision for investigation of complaints.

(2) 1976 Race Relations Act, Section 71 says:
Without prejudice to their obligation to comply with any other provision of this Act, it shall be the duty of every local authority to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need -
(a) to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination; and
(b) to promote equality of opportunity, and good relations, between persons of different racial groups.

(3) Racism Awareness Training, based on the American model of Katz, as described in her book "White Awareness Handbook for Anti-Racism Training" (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), became popular in Britain towards the end of the 1970s. According to the Commission for Racial Equality this form of training is designed "to produce in participants a heightened awareness of racism... reinforced by both fact and feeling, sufficient to ferment a determination to resist and actively confront racism both personally and institutionally and in the wider society" (from a report on a Seminar on Racism Awareness Training held by the CRE on 31 October 1984).

(4) In 1984/5 the CIO received about £26,000 for salaries, running costs and a translation unit from the GLC's Ethnic Minorities Committee. It also received in the same year a grant of about £4,400 for consultants' fees and associated expenses for a feasibility study into the establishment of a purchasing Co-operative for smaller retail businesses in Outer West London. This grant was given by the GLC's Industry and Employment Committee. In 1985 the Confederation received another grant, of about £12,000, to enable them to employ a researcher and part-time secretary to investigate the employment needs of Indian people with disabilities.
In 1983, the GLC's Ethnic Minorities Committee and the Industry and Employment Committee approved the making of a one-off grant of up to £23,565 to the Anglo-Indian Circle in respect of 1983/84 for the conversion of premises into a studio, purchase of equipment, rent, rates, administration costs and the salary of one full-time worker for seven months. The grant was renewed six months later. Another grant of

about £100,000 was made for a Dial-a-Ride service, initiated by the Anglo-Indian Art Circle, for the year 1984/85.

(5) Kanti Nagda also initiated the Harrow Ethnic Action Project (HEAP), to study the entire Asian community in Harrow. It was funded by the Manpower Services Commission, and was allocated a budget of £100,000 for one year. At the end of that year a report was reproduced, to which I refer elsewhere in the thesis.

(6) In 1984/85, out of £559,080 spent under Section 11, £65,000 were spent by Social Services and another £10,173 were spent on an Equal Opportunities adviser. The remainder of the sum was spent on education.

(7) The motion which was put to vote at the meeting reads as follows:
This meeting of Black Community Organisations in Harrow calls upon the Home Office to refuse applications from the London Borough of Harrow for the use of Section 11 monies as in our views the council is:-

a) currently misusing Section 11.

b) is institutionally racist as was demonstrated by the way the housing department treats people of Asian origin and also as to how other departments also treat our people.

c) failure of the Leader of the majority party to publicly repudiate the "racist remarks made" by him and also due to the failure of the council to disassociate itself from these remarks.

d) lack of an overall race equality or equal opportunity policy.

e) failure to take into account Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976.

No section 11 applications should therefore be approved until such time as the Council takes action to develop a comprehensive race equality policy for the black community in Harrow by the Home Office.

(8) The term black is parenthesized when it denotes self-ascribed, mostly, Asian people. Otherwise, it denotes the aggregate of the ethnic population. In other words, not all black people are 'black', i.e endorse themselves to a particular interpretation of racism.

CHAPTER 4

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE - CULTURAL ASPECTS

4.1 Arrival in Britain - The Circumstances and Their Implications

When the history of Gujaratis' migration to Britain and their consequent settlement in Harrow was delineated in the previous chapters, the discussion never asserted that Gujaratis were a group, ethnic or other. To determine whether Gujaratis possess the sociological qualifications to be called a group, two major aspects of ethnicity should be considered: symbolic formations on the one hand, and organisational forms on the other (Cohen, 1974b). According to Cohen (1982), these two interdependent variables typify all ethnic groups. Cohen defines an ethnic group as:

> a collectivity of people who (a) share some patterns of normative behaviour, or culture, and (b) form a part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system (1974a:ix).

In a later definition Cohen adds that an ethnic group is a collectivity of people who:

> share some interests in common and who, in interaction with other collectivities, coordinate their activities in advancing and defending these interests by means of a communal type of organisation, manipulating in the process such cultural forms as kinship, myths of origin, and rites and ceremonies (1982:308).

In the second definition interests play a paramount role. Also, in compliance with the second definition, Cohen suggests that ethnicity can be represented by three variables. The two variables (or aspects) mentioned above, together with another variable which he terms the degree of ethnicity, to denote that "there is ethnicity and ethnicity"

(1982:319). The latter definition implies certain notions about the ethnic phenomenon which are not shared by all scholars.

Epstein, for example, does not attribute to interest the same importance that Cohen does, although he recognizes that interests, or the struggle for power, are a major dimension of ethnicity. He says:

> It seems evident that over considerable periods of time the interest of a group may change, yet the group itself persists. Interest does become a variable, and group the constant, immediately suggesting that there must be some prior factor present by reference to which the group must be defined - unless the survival of the group is itself to be regarded as an interest (1978:94).

Yet ethnic groups do not always survive, a fact that poses no major difficulty either to Cohen or to Epstein. While a group may disappear as a result of absence of common interests, according to Epstein it would disappear following 'cultural erosion' or inadequate socialisation. Barth, however, views the persistence of ethnic groups as cultural entities from a different perspective;

> ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behaviour, i.e persisting cultural differences (1969:15-16).

An ethnic group, says Barth, may in the past have had a different culture. Thus, using the criterion of "cultural difference" implies that, when a group's culture changes over time, there are two and not one ethnic groups. What turns collectivities into ethnic groups, adds Barth, is their boundaries, which may be maintained by various mechanisms:

> where ethnic boundaries persist they depend on more subtle and specific mechanisms, mainly connected with the unfeasibility of certain status and role combinations (1969:26).

In Barth's view these mechanisms involve organised interaction carried out by actors who identify themselves with a particular ethnic group. This notion of ascription is occasionally used in the thesis, but - for the purpose of discussing the case of Gujaratis - I have found Cohen's framework of analysis much more suitable.

Although symbolic formations may be discussed in isolation, they are not divorced from organisational functions. In fact, says Cohen, organisational functions articulate different symbolic formations:

> The same organisational function, such as distinctiveness, can be effected through different cultural forms, such as a mythology of descent, forming a separate religious denomination, or having an exclusive network of kinship and affinity relationships (1982:325-36).

Hence, organisational functions may be articulated via either associative or communal organisation. This is a vital distinction, and one which this and the next chapters recognize.

While this chapter discusses mainly communal relationships, the following concentrates on associative organisation. At times it is difficult to separate the two, e.g when the issue of attachment to India is discussed. Since, as I later argue, Gujaratis in Britain feel insecure, they maintain their kinship networks to ensure that they would, if necessary, be able to return to India. However, security may be pursued by establishing

associations in Britain to mobilize the influence of Gujaratis, in order to facilitate their contacts with Gujarat. It follows, therefore, that communal relationships may be replaced by associative organisation.

As the discussion had to be confined to the present situation of Gujaratis in Britain and, in particular, to Gujaratis in Harrow, issues have been assigned either to this or the next chapter according to the present state of affairs.

Initially, we are concerned here with a category of people which has practised a high degree of endogamy. This in itself already qualifies Gujaratis to be considered as an ethnic group, whose position on the continuum of the organisational factor places it close to the pole of communal organisation (Cohen, 1982). Percy Cohen further emphasizes that:

> what makes ethnic persistence possible is the confinement of marriage and procreation largely within the ethnic group. The key to ethnic preservation is the maintenance of an internal culture including the social controls which prohibit others from having marital access to one's women; hence inter-ethnic sexual exclusion comes to possess strong symbolic significance (1976:24).

From the theoretical perspective, this assertion complements Abner Cohen's proposition, and describes the Gujaratis' position in Britain when only a few associations existed. The Ugandan expulsion did not disrupt their existence as an ethnic group; it only led to a greater emphasis on communal organisation. This shift, as the next chapter demonstrates, was a temporary one.

The Ugandan expulsion, as the first section demonstrates, had a major influence on the relationships between Gujaratis and their contemporaries in India. The insecurity which it generated has made them more aware that ties with the home country are important and that they wish to preserve a culture of their own.

The discussion in the following sections proceeds from the first, for Gujaratis also think of themselves as British citizens and aspire to improve their position vis-à-vis the majority. In other words, they wish to eradicate both prejudice and discrimination and are willing to conform to cultural and moral injunctions entailed in living in Britain to enhance their position. At times, these aspirations lead to conflicts manifested in, amongst other things, frustration and disappointment in the British society.

The third section discusses the ramifications of their position with regard to the socialisation of the next generation, which is also the first British born generation of Gujaratis. Issues related to mother tongue teaching, education and employment are discussed in this section.

The next chapter discusses their associative organisation, and concentrates mainly on caste and religion. These chapters therefore are concerned not only with whether Gujaratis constitute an ethnic group, but also with the nature of Gujarati ethnicity in Britain.

4.1.1 Attachment to Home Country

Attachment to the home country, the 'motherland', is often thought to indicate that assimilation aspirations have failed. Presumably, it pulls the immigrant away from the wider society, which does not share these sentiments. The non-assimilative nature of the Pakistani community, for example, has been shown to be linked to attachment to their home villages in Pakistan (Saifulla-Khan, 1977; Anwar, 1979), and it tends to be stronger when kin reside in home villages and towns.

The Rastafarians, however, are an exception. They have developed strong emotional ties with Africa, but neither they nor previous generations had lived in that continent. For Rastafarians Africa is the only place where they can be proud, the only place believed to be 'pure' and free from white man's discrimination. The vision of Africa, says Cashmore:

> bore no necessary relationship to the bone-hard, practical reality of Africa, replete with its political and economic complexities, and relied more on a simple mythology built around the image of a Golden Age (1979:234).

Thus, attachment to a motherland is not necessarily connected to a country of origin. It evolves in conjunction with a state of affairs prevailing in the new country, rather than being solely rooted in ties with an origin country, which are uninterruptedly nourished for a number of generations.

The commitments and attitudes of Gujaratis in Britain towards India are related both to the fact that their culture and traditions originate in Gujarat, and that many have relatives there.

Epstein would probably point to the 'affective roots of ethnicity' to explain this attachment. He holds that early childhood experiences are crucial to the socialisation of an individual as a member of an ethnic group, and therefore to one's ethnic identity later in life. In our particular case, since the majority of Harrow Gujaratis were born in East Africa, they - presumably - had had the opportunity to develop an ethnic identity prior to their arrival in Britain, and future generations will be socialized into their ethnic identity in Britain. Alternatively, for those born in India, their communal relationships in India may count as 'affective roots'.

My own suggestion is that, while symbolic and cultural formations have an important role in this attachment, it is the Gujaratis' sense of instability and insecurity at present that leads them to turn India into a focal point of their lives. The root of this insecurity lies in the Ugandan expulsion, and it has been exacerbated in Britain by covert, as well as overt, racism. 'We have to stick to our culture' explained one mother in Harrow, 'because otherwise we are left with nothing. They will not accept us as we are, so we should not become like them'. As a result, the departure from symbolic formations associated with India is being slowed down in a process that might take on a cyclical pattern, meaning: the more insecure Gujaratis are, the more they will tend to be inward-looking and congregate within their own circles. The more enclosed they are in their own social networks,

the more they will be made to feel 'different' and prejudice will persist. Consequently, they will turn to India and strengthen their ties with her, and so on.

The attachment to India is hardly ever translated into a two way movement of migration. Very few Gujaratis go back to India and sending daughters to marry in India is regarded as highly undesirable (Michaelson, 1979). Their own reasoning, which explains the importance of India to their lives, is summed up in the following statement: if and when another expulsion or similar catastrophe occurs, India will take them back. This reasoning is also spelt out openly, though Gujaratis ordinarily stress that their ties with India are emotional or cultural. When, for example, the education of the children is discussed parents are more inclined to say that their children should study the Gujarati language to be better equipped for life in Gujarat. They then add that it is necessary for children to speak Gujarati because they should be able to converse with the elders. Apparently, many Asians share this insecurity[1].

This reasoning should not be confused with a 'myth of return'. Gujaratis do not cherish an idealized notion of India, and do not generally refer to India as if it were the place to which they ultimately belong. In this respect their response to their Indian background is more like that of East African Sikhs (Bhachu, 1984 and 1985).

Bhachu explains what she terms the 'conservatism' of the East African Sikh community as one resulting from

the close-knit contacts which they maintain in Britain, contacts whose origin, she holds, are to be found in East Africa. Consequently, young Sikh men in Britain wear turbans because their elders do, and not because Indian Sikhs normally wear turbans (see also Ballard and Ballard, 1977). Bhachu adds that East African Sikhs wear turbans in a different style from Indian Sikhs. This, apparently, is not only designed to stress their 'East Africanness', but also to pronounce their Ramgariah identity, the caste to which most of them belong (Bhachu, 1985:163).

Gujaratis, similarly, entertain an attachment to East Africa, particularly if they have relatives there. This will become apparent in the following section. At this stage, however, it should be said that the links with East Africa are essentially different from those with India. East Africa belongs to the past whereas India is not excluded from the future. The Ugandan expulsion and also the instability of the East African regimes deter many Gujaratis from serious consideration of a return.

As a result of their common experience in East Africa and in Britain, Gujaratis do not hold their citizenship, as well as their rights to remain in Britain, on a par with that of patrial British nationals. The fact that Gujaratis with Ugandan citizenship were not expelled from Uganda is therefore of little significance. Rather, the fact that they had to leave a country in which they had previously felt secure, and where they fully enjoyed the benefits of economic enterprise, overshadows the fact that the legal status of the majority of expellees was not, in Uganda, that of citizens. In addition, the fact that

they can easily be singled out - owing to their physical appearance - further contributes to their sense of vulnerability. Forging links with India provides Gujaratis with a sense of security which is currently lacking in Britain.

4.1.2 Insecurity - the East African Roots

Life in India is viewed by British Gujaratis as fundamentally different from life in Britain, i.e life is 'harsher' and 'it is difficult to make money there'. The risk of making a fresh start there is too great, they say. Both East African and Indian born Gujaratis share this view, although they differ in their opinions about this issue.

A few Indian born Gujarati women in Harrow, who arrived in Britain upon marriage, expressed desire to go back. One of them, from a Bombay Patel family, has been living in this country for more than a decade. She said 'it is more technologically advanced here, so you do not work as hard. But this is the only advantage of living here'. Given the choice, she added, she would have gone back to India. East Africans comment on the 'greediness' of Indians, and hold them to be dishonest and corrupt (Punjabis have similar complaints; cf. Ballard and Ballard, 1977). They are thus less likely to contemplate a return to India. During the course of the observations, in two cases where the husband was from East Africa and the wife from India, it was particularly evident that the husbands' views on India and Indian people countered those of their

spouses. Indian born Gujaratis, male or female, found such remarks highly offensive.

These remarks, however, are indicative of the ambivalent attitudes towards India, the motherland, which is now also regarded as a refuge. Whether this refuge is imaginary or real (that is, whether India will accept refugees of Indian origin as citizens) is beyond the scope of this discussion, which focuses primarily on the making of culture in the land of migration.

The different attitudes of Indian and East African born Gujaratis are, however, pertinent, since around a quarter of Harrow Gujaratis are Indian born. The data drawn from the sample demonstrates that there is a higher proportion of women from India (15 per cent of the men and 32 per cent of the women are Indian born), and that the majority of women are married to husbands who were not born in the country where they themselves were born. Many East African Gujaratis are thus familiar with life in India and it is difficult to dissociate the attitude of East African Gujaratis from those of born Gujaratis.

In the family mentioned above (where the wife came from Bombay) the East African born brothers of the husband were divided on the question of where to resettle. Upon leaving East Africa, at the beginning of the 1960s, two brothers eventually ended up in London and one brother, with whose family I stayed, settled in Baroda. The family in Baroda is more affluent, even by British standards of living. They have two maids and are also able to make trips around the world and occasionally visit their kin in

Britain. This example illustrates that attitudes on the subject are not necessarily divided along the lines of country of birth. In some cases split families create a kind of modus vivendi, whereby each part is content both with its own country of residence as well as with that of its overseas' kin. This is also true of families who decide to settle in more than one country, excluding India. Some East African Gujaratis tried to establish themselves in Europe, while their close relatives settled in Britain, but eventually settled in Britain because of language difficulties.

Dividing the risk of expulsion (or a similar catastrophe) over more than one country ensures, so Gujaratis hold, that one would have a refuge, if and when a catastrophe takes place.

The deep insecurity which Gujaratis still share goes back to the period that preceded the Ugandan expulsion, when the three East African nations became independent. After the founding of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, in 1962, Asians were increasingly preoccupied with trading present affluence against future security. Tandon and Raphael point out that:

> Their constant subject of conversation... whether they met on the golf course or in their favourite evening sit-ins in the bazaars of Kampala, Nairobi or Lusaka, was how much more time they had in Africa and what stage they had reached in securing a British quota voucher or a local work permit (1978:13).

Before East African Asians began to emigrate to Britain in growing numbers, they had deposited considerable sums of money in British banks. This response, typical of many

Asians in East Africa, was played down by Asians, and so was the fact that they had developed complicated illegal channels for transferring money to Britain or to Switzerland. They did not succeed in convincing Idi Amin that Uganda's prosperity was close to their hearts. He openly accused them of smuggling money out of the country, and suspected at least some Asians of not obtaining their Ugandan passports legally (Melady and Melady, 1976).

Saving money in foreign banks constituted only one part of what may be named as a 'survival mechanism'. Britain was a safe place as far as depositing money was concerned but, from 1962 onwards, once the Commonwealth Immigrants Act was passed, East African Asians were not confident that Britain would let them in if and when the crucial moment arrived. This situation led to the rise of entrepreneurs in East Africa, called 'agents' (Tandon and Raphael, 1978), who had the know-how to provide their clients with a British quota voucher or a local work permit.

Asian British males took East African citizenship and encouraged their wives to hold onto their British passports. Having one adult member with a British passport was intended to ensure entrance of both spouse and children into Britain. A family who came to Harrow as late as 1984 succeeded in remaining in Kenya because the husband had acquired Kenyan nationality, while the wife retained her British passport. At present, three brothers of that family live in Harrow (one of them is unmarried and lives with his married brother) and one in Northolt.

The parents still live in Kenya and will probably join their sons upon retirement.

It was therefore Britain, and not India, which Gujaratis in East Africa then turned to as a shelter for troubled times. Many had given up their Indian passports during the 1950s, when India no longer allowed its citizens to have dual nationality. In 1968, as a response to a new Commonwealth Immigrants Act, India barred its doors to British Indians. This was the way India showed its reluctance to become the destination of unwanted British citizens. A few months later, however, India consented to give temporary admission to 'persons of Indian origin holding United Kingdom passports'. By 1971, according to Tandon and Raphael (1978), India received nearly 40,000 Indians with British passports, provided they would later be given permission to enter Britain.

A similar cycle of events took place later, during the Ugandan expulsion, when India first barred the expellees from entry but soon retracted this decision.

As was shown in previous chapters, Britain was reluctant to receive Ugandan expellees and attempted to dictate their places of resettlement in Britain. Asian immigrants were seen as a liability, a problem which could be resolved by decreasing the number of Asian entrants into Britain. Hence, the sense of insecurity which Gujaratis now share is not attributable only to the Ugandan expulsion and its aftermath, or the discriminatory practices against non-citizens which Asians experienced

in the course of the post-independence era of the East African states. Rather, it has been reinforced by the response of the British government, and - in particular - by various legal means that were taken to stop Asians from 'flooding' the country. The following section therefore concentrates on the ways in which the links with India have been established by Gujaratis in the last decade.

4.1.3 Securing a Return to India

Although some Gujarati informants have reiterated the notion of a return to India, it does not seem that they possess a clear-cut idea of the circumstances in which they might leave Britain. This is due partly to the ambivalent attitudes towards India. If forced to leave, Gujaratis may prefer to migrate to other countries. Indeed, they would probably prefer, given the choice, not to settle in India.

A comparison between Jews and Gujaratis shows some resemblance, as Diaspora Jews share a sense of insecurity which in turn encourages them to think of Israel as the 'motherland' (Eisenstadt, 1985). The state of Israel has repeatedly emphasized its commitment to world Jewry. Soon after independence Israel passed the Law of Return which provided citizenship for every Jewish newcomer, yet the majority of Jews reside outside Israel.

Conversely, India has not committed itself to receiving people of Indian origin, and they are not automatically guaranteed citizenship. Though India does

not, in principle, object to the settlement of British citizens of Indian origin in India, it may object to allowing them entrance in circumstances that resemble that of the Ugandan expulsion.

Both the majority of Diaspora Jews (excluding - perhaps - Soviet Jews) and overseas Indians prefer to stay where they are, and regard the motherland as a potential refuge, whose main asset is that it can assure their survival in case of persecution.

The ways in which Gujaratis seek to secure a place in India are varied. According to Parekh (1978) most Asians (Gujaratis included) did not intend to remain in Britain in the first place, but gradually readjusted their plans. Thus, their initial intention was to return to the Indian subcontinent after saving sufficient money to enable them to make a fresh start there. Once they decided to remain in Britain (for whatever reasons), they revised their strategies regarding their relationships with their respective homelands.

Parekh's description of the readjustment of these intentions is similar to what Anwar (1979) later termed 'The Myth of Return'. On the current position of Asians in Britain, concerning both their attachment to India and the prospects of a return, Parekh maintains that:

> The Asian immigrants are predictably frightened and bewildered. They are haunted by a sense of impending tragedy and a growing feeling of meaninglessness. They have been caught up in a cycle of circumstances from which they cannot break out. As several Indians in their early sixties put it to me, they cannot bear the thought of getting old and dying in this 'cold and alien land', and yet they cannot see how they can avoid this. They have tried various methods to ease their predicament. Some of them 'import' spouses for their children from

> India in the twin hope that this will enable them to establish a network of relations in India and to forge links between their children and India (1978:41).

Similar comments are also made by elderly Gujaratis in Harrow, but the majority of them return neither to India nor to East Africa. Instead, they visit their overseas kin, and stay with them for a few months. The extent to which Gujaratis in Harrow 'import' spouses is difficult to say. My own impression, however, is that Indian Gujaratis wish to 'export' spouses to forge links outside India, as much as British Gujaratis desire to 'import' spouses.

As the quotation above suggests, securing a relatively smooth return to India involves the creation or the maintenance of social networks, mainly that of kinfolk.

The evidence supporting the view that Gujaratis are concerned with a return lies in the fact that they invest resources which may assist such an endeavour. Therefore, before exploring their familial and cultural ties with India, their financial commitments should be further explored.

It is difficult to assess the proportion of Gujaratis who have property in Gujarat. Some Gujaratis have inherited property from their families; others have either bought land or a house in the course of the years. In Britain, as in East Africa, Gujaratis do not normally admit that they invest some savings in India, but my own impression is that acquiring property there is not an uncommon practice.

An article on the tenth anniversary of the Ugandan expulsion quotes the opinion of a Gujarati businessman, K.

D. Patel:

> But KD [sic] has not forgotten the lesson of the sudden uprooting from Uganda, and is now busy investing in homes in India. "East Africa taught us not to put all our eggs in one basket. And when last year had riots here, some of our people did start buying properties in India" (Bose, 1982:458).

Similar comments are made by Gujaratis in Harrow, though not in connection to a particular event. The family whose relatives I visited in Rajkot has a house in Porbandar, near the village where the husband's parents were born. This fact was discovered during my stay there, although I had previously been told at length about the affairs of the family in Gujarat. This house remains locked, is not being used, and its value is probably depreciating. Another Gujarati man, from a barbers' caste, told me that the house which he had inherited is being rented, and that the remainder of the rent (after paying various expenses) is donated to backward (to use his own terminology) castes. This Gujarati man, who has been living in Britain for thirty years, was one of the informants who admitted that the sense of insecurity was still very strong.

In yet another case, photographs of the family in Baroda, shown to me by their relatives in Harrow, revealed that a house is now being built for one of the brothers who lives in Britain. These photographs were taken during a ritual which the family in Baroda conducted on behalf of the brother in London[2].

This evidence, which could not have been systematically collected, portrays the Gujarati community as one whose members, to some degree, are occupied with

purchasing and maintaining assets in India. Amongst Gujaratis, however, members of some castes are known to be more likely to have property in Gujarat.

Though the purchase of property is a more clear-cut demonstration of the argument above, it is not difficult to envisage a situation where investment (including savings) in India may not prove to be financially worthwhile. As a result of legislative changes made by the Indian government regarding investments in foreign currency, or, owing to political and other economic developments, investing in India may not be profitable and Gujaratis may turn to other countries for the sole purpose of securing their savings. This observation applies equally to foreign companies[3]. Though India has had a policy of encouraging foreign investment for many years, the priority areas are dictated solely by the Indian government. The state of Gujarat, however, aware of the large number of its people who are residing abroad, initiated in 1985 projects specifically designed to attract investments from overseas ("New Life", 8 November 1985).

The case of East African Sikhs, whose pattern of migration to Britain is somewhat similar to that of Gujaratis, demonstrates that the purchase of property is an indicator that should be carefully used. Bhachu (1984) points out that Sikhs gave up the idea of acquiring and retaining homes in the Punjab. Many Sikhs bought property while staying in East Africa. They furnished them with all the imported and prestigious goods only to find that

they quickly decayed and lost their value. The wish to use this property in old age was subsequently forsaken, and Sikhs no longer buy properties in the Punjab. Bhachu also mentions that, at the time, many Sikhs left for India in order to settle, failed, and then migrated either to Britain or back to East Africa. Punjabis were not divorced from the idea of a return to India. Nevertheless they no longer acquire property and their links with India, presumably, have taken other forms.

Securing financial means is but one way of assuring a return. A family has to decide where to settle, and its decision would be highly dependent on employment prospects. Outside of Gujarat, Bombay is one of the main areas where Gujaratis reside (both families in Rajkot and Baroda had close relatives in Bombay). A family who returns to India has to consider various difficulties it may encounter. Despite its familiarity with various aspects of life in India, its members are immediately recognized as people who are not Indian born. For many years after its resettlement, however successful it may be, a family is considered to be 'foreign', as if it possesses some inherent quality that makes it conspicuously different. Thus, in order to be better integrated in the new milieu, a family has to change its life style. Some people mentioned these adjustments as major obstacles that would deter them from returning to India.

I would like to illustrate the 'foreigness' which Indians attribute to overseas born Gujaratis with the following example.

While visiting Baroda and staying with an East African family, an acquaintance enquired about the purpose of my visit. To the statement that the visit aimed to 'look at the Gujarati way of life' he responded with a sceptical nod. He promptly declared, in front of the family, that I had come to the wrong place, since my East African born hosts, despite the fact that they had resided in Gujarat for more than twenty years, were not 'proper Gujarati'. Both parents and, in particular, their children, were too 'westernized' to pass as fully fledged Indians. Overseas born Gujaratis admit that they are immediately recognized in Gujarat, and add that they can tell Indian born Gujaratis from African born ones when encountering them in Britain.

By far the most important feature of Indian society, which determines the acceptance by kin, is caste. However, this is not always openly admitted. The young undergraduate in Baroda, whose parents were born in East Africa, emphasized that she would marry out of love. The acquaintance mentioned earlier, on the other hand, 'assured' me that she would marry in her own caste. The two statements, of course, are not mutually exclusive. This example also shows that youngsters in India are put under pressure to comply with norms which they find difficult to accept. Similarly, overseas Gujaratis are expected to marry within their own castes and are helped by relatives to find an appropriate spouse if they wish to 'import' one.

Even marrying within one's caste is not a sufficient prerequisite for acceptance. An overseas Gujarati is suspected of being influenced by western society. This influence is not favourably regarded, and therefore overseas Gujaratis constantly have to watch their steps so as not to appear to be 'too westernised'.

British Gujaratis are expected to maintain close ties with their kin in Gujarat. In order to accomplish this aim, for example, they are always careful to include Indian kinfolk and friends in wedding invitations' lists. In one case I observed how several members of a Sutar caste consulted each other to ensure that no one would be left out. Occasionally, Gujaratis travel to India in order to attend weddings. Exchanging visits is an important component of maintaining relationships. Saifulla Khan comments that, with regard to Pakistanis:

> By returning home for a visit the migrant demonstrates to himself and his family that he is fulfilling their expectations. He returns to strengthen the tie between them, possibly to create a new tie with home by marrying or by extending his economic and financial stake in the area. During these trips home he may organise the building of a house in the village, buy a plot of land, or establish a small business (1977:70).

The assertion that Gujaratis desire to facilitate their contacts with Gujarat is further reaffirmed by the following initiative which was made jointly by several Gujarati associations. These associations applied to Air India to establish a direct flight to Gujarat (at present passengers have to pass through either Bombay or New Delhi). One informant explained that this initiative

followed the establishment of a direct line between Britain and the Punjab.

Kin and caste members living in Gujarat would probably visit Britain more often if this initiative succeeds. They highly regard the 'sons' who left for 'vilayat' (lit. abroad, especially England. Sharma, 1971: 15), regardless of their occupation and economic standing. Some villages keep updated lists of all their 'sons' who live outside India (Michaelson, 1979) and expect them to donate money either for the purpose of improving facilities in the villages, or for building pakka houses (houses made of stone, which are more expensive). Appeals are occasionally made in "New Life" to 'former residents' of certain villages to support local services. Similar appeals are made when natural disasters, e.g floods, occur. The building of pakka houses, however, was probably more prevalent in the Punjab and Pakistan, where such houses were built from remittances which were regularly sent from Britain (Saifullah Khan, 1977; 1982).

In connection with the attitudes of Indian Gujaratis towards overseas Gujaratis, a general practitioner commented bitterly that overseas Indians gained status unjustifiably, merely by becoming identified with an affluent society. 'They come back, wearing a suit and a tie, and nobody really knows what they have been doing there', he complained. He also observed, quite correctly, that immigrants consented to take jobs they would not take in India, where caste bars would have prevented them from taking jobs that are considered

degrading. A Gujarati restauranteur in north London, for example, confided that his occupation would be deemed inappropriate in Gujarat.

Western culture, in the eyes of people such as this general practitioner, is corrupt and immoral. Men and women, they hold, indulge in premarital sex and are not loyal to their spouses once they get married (cf. Sharma, 1971:17). Women, on the whole, are immodest and men indulge in smoking and drinking, or even gambling. Sons are not loyal to their parents and do not take care of them in their old age.

A Rajkot teacher of sociology, who was particularly interested in the western family structure, expressed doubts as to its stability. 'Why do people have children' she asked, 'when they know that these children are not going to take care of them?'.

A negative opinion on every facet of western values and norms was expressed by many people in Gujarat, while the affluence and technological progress of the west was greatly admired. This admiration, in turn, leads the upper classes to emulate not only western fashions in clothes, music and food but also, at times, modes of behaviour. The existence of these often contradictory views on western culture have influenced British Gujaratis. Their manifestations can be observed in attitudes towards different aspects of the white British society. In addition to the views earlier mentioned they hold that one should not remain single, but ought to get married. Marriages should not be out of love, because 'these are lust, not

love marriages'. Both love and sex should come after marriage.

In Britain, Gujarati parents do not normally object to their children dressing in highly fashionable clothes, or listening to popular western music. They only worry that the outcome could be norms and values which they do not wish their children to adopt. This observation applies equally to other overseas Indian communities. Rama Mehta, who studied Hindu women in America, comments that parents were concerned that western social environment "could give new ideas to their children" (1970:39).

The idea that western civilisation is polluting has been held ever since Indians left for other continents. Mahatma Gandhi, himself a Gujarati, was ostracised when he left for London to study Law at the end of the nineteenth century. He made a vow to his mother that he would not indulge in any immoral activities, such as dancing with women, and that he would stick to the Indian way of life. His caste's elders, however, refused to give their approval to his departure (Mehta, 1977). Another example may be recorded from recent times. The journalist and author Ved Mehta, in a book on his homecoming to India after studying at Oxford, quotes a comment made by his aunt. "I hope you still remember and read the Ramayana" she writes, "maybe you don't, though. Boys gets corrupted by the West" (Mehta, 1967:27).

Pollution is a term that has been mentioned several times in the course of conversations with Gujaratis, to describe the state of impurity which living outside

India entails. However, in India Gujaratis do not experience the same dissonance upon condemning western culture, since - unlike their overseas contemporaries - they do not have to comply with western norms of behaviour and etiquette. In addition, their children do not face the problems of 'anglicisation', to use the Ballards' term (1977). Unlike their Indian counterparts, British Asians encounter various conflicts which result from the interaction with non-Asians. The influences to which they are exposed are sometimes welcomed, but conflicts have to be dealt with.

Finally, it would be methodologically unjustified to argue for causal relationships between the prevalence of certain attitudes in Gujarat and those of the Gujarati community in Britain to suit the argument that Gujaratis are double rooted. As this section explains, Gujaratis cannot be described as double rooted, nor do they see themselves as temporary inhabitants of Britain.

In this section I have merely attempted to illustrate that behind the successful facade of the Gujarati community in Harrow (a portrayal encouraged by the media; for example, see Bose, 1982) the influence of the Ugandan expulsion is pervasive. In other words, the effects of this trauma have not received the recognition that they deserve.

The following sections further explore the nature of the conflicts mentioned above and their manifestations, with regard both to Gujaratis born abroad and British born Gujaratis.

4.2 Aspects of Continuity and Change

4.2.1 Introductory Notes

The Gujaratis in Britain, and particularly the generation educated in this country, are under pressure to conform to the values and norms of the white society. The pressures which Gujaratis experience are sometimes contradictory, and some Gujaratis attempt to emulate the British life style. These attempts apply not only to extrinsic cultural traits (cf. Gordon, 1964:79) but also to their value system.

The fact that arranged marriages, for example, are regarded as a 'backward' practice and one that should be discouraged has led many Asians to internalize the view that this practice belongs to the past and is incongruent with a modern western life style. Asian social workers point out that some non-Asian colleagues tend to side with Asian youngsters rather than with their parents, often without realizing the consequences. The former think that this practice is a manifestation of an unjustifiable value judgement of which social workers should be made aware (cf. Cheetham and others, 1981).

Alongside pressures to conform, to whatever degree, to the British value system, pressure exists from within towards conformity with their own value system. This pressure may be subtle, but it may also be overt and nonconformity may involve various sanctions. One husband revealed, for example, that he would have liked his wife to wear a sari. He thought it was the most beautiful dress a woman could wear. In India, her sister bought her

a few saris, although she now knows that they are hardly worn. The husband, in this particular case, did not reproach his wife for wearing the kind of dress to which she had been accustomed before her marriage (women in Gujarat do not normally wear saris prior to their marriage). However, had this woman lived in India, the issue would have been unlikely to arise. The sanctions which would have been imposed would, most probably, be too strong to resist, and she would have worn a sari, like her sister in Rajkot.

The freedom of western society, with less direct pressure and more tolerance than in India, is often perceived as a double edged sword. It allows ethnic minorities to retain their own customs, yet it threatens the maintenance of symbolic formations that otherwise would have been taken for granted:

As an Imam from London once pointed out:

> let us remember that British society is a free society. This freedom is a blessing which, we have to admit, is not enjoyed by many Muslim thinkers and reformers in many Muslim countries... But it is this very freedom which poses a great threat to the Islamic way of life. Muslim communities here are exposed suddenly to all the trends of international intellectualism (Darsh, 1980:82).

Similar comments are made by ministers of other religions. Though this Imam is primarily concerned with the identity of Muslims as members of a religious group, the implications of this freedom with regard to the continuity of other ethnic minorities are obvious (cf. Kalra, 1980:56).

Clearly, the maintenance of symbolic formations is perceived by Gujaratis as a crucial issue, if their identity as Gujaratis is to persist. It is less clear, though, what the content of these symbols ought to be and the ways in which they should be transmitted.

Epstein advocates that a sense of ethnic identity develops at an early age when a child receives an 'ethnic socialisation':

> The question of continuity leads in turn to further questions about the ways in which the sense of ethnic identity is transmitted... We know little as yet of how that sense of identity is awakened and grows in the individual, but there seems good ground for assuming that the process begins early in childhood, and becomes intimately linked with the unconscious identifications that are made with early attachment figures (1978:xiv).

According to Epstein these identifications remain with the individual throughout life. During the period of adolescence an individual may undergo a phase of strong rejection of identifications imposed by parents and their social network. At times, Epstein suggests, this rejection turns into a complete denial. He mentions as an example American born Jewish youngsters who apparently become 'non-Jewish' Jews, a term which suggests that one is bound to come to terms with one's Judaism eventually (the term was originally coined by Deutcher in his book "The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays", Oxford University Press, 1968 , and refers to Jews who have abandoned all forms of religious observance). 'Reluctant' Jews, Epstein explains, after establishing their own families, or as a result of encountering discrimination, often 'resume' their Jewish identity.

The content of the ethnic identity, the symbols which it utilizes, are held by Epstein to be unchangeable. Ethnic identity formation, he suggests, is a function of the interplay of internal and external variables. Nevertheless, it is above all a psychological phenomenon:

> Ethnic identity, no more than ego-identity, is neither given nor innate; the way in which it is generated is always a psychological process (1978:xiii).

Gujaratis, however, do not have the same range of identities at their disposal as American Jews, and often mention that their skin colour immediately brands them as 'Asian'. Thus, whether or not one is socialized from an early age to think of identity as 'ethnic', a Gujarati is compelled to adopt a notion of being different from the majority.

Cohen holds that "continuous indoctrination", to use his phrase, is vital to the persistence of a group. And, he says, when a group goes through a process of change, it may adjust to new situations in terms of its own traditional customs. Contrary to Epstein, however, Cohen does not attribute great significance to early childhood socialisation. Selfhood, thus:

> is achieved through social interaction with other men. What is more, it is not achieved once and for all during our early childhood, as psychoanalysts maintain, but is perpetually in the making (Cohen 1974b:55).

The two scholars, quite clearly, differ in their view on the nature of selfhood. Epstein suggests that ethnicity possesses a strong affective tone because it is rooted in the self, which is a synthesis or an integration of various statuses and roles. Cohen's proposition, in turn, implies

that symbolic formations are dynamic, and that they may change, regardless of whether or not the group adopts customs shared by other groups.

Epstein, like Glazer and Moynihan (1975), advocates that he is neither a primordialist nor a circumstantialist[4]. He sometimes stresses one aspect at the expense of the other. Distinguishing between what he terms 'public' and 'intimate' cultures, he observes that:

> What would seem to be important in the transmission of identity is not practice in itself, but the meaning that attaches to it, and the way it is cathected (1978:111).

Cohen, on the other hand, thinks that what matters sociologically:

> is what people actually do, not what they subjectively think, or what they think they think (1974a:x).

And, while he agrees with Epstein that ethnic identity is not innate, he holds that - being a result of social interaction - it is continually in the making. Although he does not distinguish between external and internal variables as such (as potential causes of conflict), he is aware that the maintenance of selfhood may become acute, and that a state of equilibrium may not be achieved. Furthermore, he recognizes that a rapid change in society may present difficulties in the maintenance of selfhood. Thus, if disintegration threatens the self, a new equilibrium will be actively sought.

The nature of the pressures to which the opening paragraph referred now becomes clear, as Gujaratis are newcomers to Britain. Their settlement has entailed

adoption of roles to which they had not been accustomed earlier. Moreover, the power structure of British society has presented major dilemmas, for:

> The totality of the self is thus subject to a most intensive competition between various types of power groups. Every major interest group tries to offer its members a totality of scheme for life, a solution of the problems of man in contemporary society. Every major interest group tries to present its members with a ready-made blue-print for living, with a design for selfhood (Cohen, 1974b:60).

Gujaratis have made a number of steps favourable to the adoption of new roles in British society. They have a good command of English and previous experience with British authorities. They are equipped with an ethos (Tambs-Lyche, 1980; 1982) that makes them economically successful in British society. In Harrow, Gujaratis have settled in the 'desirable', middle class, environment of a London suburb. However, the intensive interaction with other groups, together with the adoption of new roles, may pose acute problems for the maintenance of selfhood. Such problems are manifested, for example, in extreme reactions of parents towards their children. At times adolescents and unmarried youngsters run away from their families to escape a violent reaction. Some violent incidents received wide coverage in Britain[5] when, for example, a Punjabi father murdered his daughter (Kalra, 1980). This incident occurred as a result of a daughter acting against a tradition according to which a woman should be sexually loyal to one man throughout her life.

As much as these incidents are uncommon, they indicate that sanctions which had previously been influential have lost their effectiveness. Alternatively, rewards for conformity may have lost their attractiveness. These cases also indicate that a new equilibrium has not yet been achieved by all the people concerned. When youngsters wish to adopt new roles, parents may inhibit them from doing so. In other words, the adult generation have not yet revised the role of parenthood or the roles that their children wish to adopt.

Conflicts between parents and children are not the prerogative of ethnic minorities. They are a common feature of every society. However, some of these conflicts take more acute forms within ethnic minorities, while others are not experienced by the indigenous population.

It ought to be emphasized, therefore, that a new equilibrium of selfhood may be achieved by certain categories of individuals. An article in "The Guardian" (19 August 1985) attempted to balance the media's portrayal of an 'in between' state of affairs as one which puts a heavy strain on youngsters. Drawing upon interviews with a number of young Muslim women, it concluded that youngsters

> can comfortably maintain traditional roles at home while adopting new roles at work. One Muslim woman told the interviewer that, while keeping a fast, she would join her colleagues in the pub. In fact, she often went to pubs, but never had any alcoholic drinks.

Drawing upon my own observations, my conclusion is in line with the example above. The 'in between' position, rather than suggesting continuous dissonance, seemed to be well managed by the majority of people met in Harrow. For example, husbands often went to pubs with their colleagues, or ate meat, and neither they nor their wives thought this practice to be incongruent with the fact that meat, or alcoholic drinks, were neither to be found at home, nor consumed by the female members of these households. This is but one example which illustrates that changes may, and do, take place without causing acute problems either to individual members of the family or to families as wholes.

Besides, moral injunctions within their own community were not perceived to be on a par with those of the indigenous society, i.e they prevailed within a situation where primary relationships within exclusive social networks were continually encouraged. Hence, the behaviour of one outside these networks was not expected to be congruent with what existed inside.

To further explore the avenues through which ethnic groups change the following section first examines the process of assimilation and then looks into social and ideological changes which have taken place in Harrow. Some moral values and injunctions, as will become apparent, undergo a process of erosion whilst new symbolic formations emerge.

4.2.2 Assimilation - The Model and its Shortcomings

In any discussion on assimilation, as many scholars now recognize (cf. Patterson, 1965; Rex and Moore, 1967; Anwar, 1979), terms such as 'assimilation', 'adaptation', 'acculturation' and 'amalgamation' have been used, sometimes interchangeably. In his study on West Indians and West Africans in Stepney, Banton (1955) describes assimilation as:

> a state of affairs in which a person's membership in the immigrant grouping does not in any way hinder him in his relations with non-immigrants; it requires not that the immigrant forget his own culture but that he be fully at home in that of his adopted land (1955:75).

The immigrant was expected to adjust to the white society, acquire its values, norms, and customs, and, 'in return', be accepted, presumably on equal terms. Conformity to the norms of the white society, however, as his case study demonstrates, did not provide adequate ground for acceptance. The term 'black', Banton indicates, connoted a lower status, one with which white people did not wish to be associated. Patterson too expected that complete adaptation would be accompanied by complete acceptance on the part of the hosts (cf. Patterson, 1965:21) though she herself, like Banton, observed a great hostility towards the newcomers.

When the settlement of Gujaratis in Britain is considered vis-à-vis the assimilation model, their position seems to accord with Patterson's definition of accommodation, a stage which precedes assimilation:

> The migrants establish themselves to an adequate extent economically and residentially, and conform at least outwardly to the new society's basic norms. For the receiving society, accommodation involves a limited acceptance of the newcomers (1965:24).

The definitions of assimilation and accommodation help to demonstrate why it was later recognized that the assimilation model was inadequate to describe the changes that immigrant groups undergo. Neither accommodation nor the 'final' stages of assimilation and amalgamation assist in describing the adaptation process of immigrant groups in post-industrial societies. Rather, they remind the deterministic approach mentioned by Werbner, according to which ethnic groups are "doomed to the margins of society" (1984b:2). The view of Park, whose writing precedes that of Banton and Patterson, is that there is another difficulty with the concept of assimilation:

> It /the concept of assimilation/ is based on observations confined to individualistic groups where the characteristic relations are indirect and secondary. It takes no account of the kind of assimilation that takes place in primary groups where relations are direct and personal - in the tribe, for example, or in the family (1950:207-208).

The assimilation model confused analysis with ideology, i.e the ways ethnic groups were expected to respond to new social environment and their observed behaviour. The 'limited acceptance' to which Patterson refers did not go beyond the removal of overt prejudice against the immigrants. This confusion, comments Epstein, led to the expectation that:

> the cultural features which distinguished one ethnic group from another would inevitably lose their strength in the modern or modernizing society, and that there would be an increasing emphasis on achievement as against ascription in the definition of social status (1978:92-93).

Though Park claims that outward conformity does not imply that the group concerned is undergoing cultural change, he maintains that ultimately all ethnic groups assimilate. As Peterson comments, Park advocates a process of "invariable and irreversible four-stage succession of contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation" (1982:13; see also Park, 1950:150). In other words, even when ethnic groups remain distinct for decades, the prospects of their assimilation and amalgamation remain unassailable.

The other avenue suggested by scholars is that an ethnic group may reach a state of 'pluralistic integration':

> a stage in which the incoming group as a whole, through its own organizations, adapts itself to permanent membership of the receiving society in certain major spheres of association, notably in economic and civic life. On its part, the receiving society accepts the group as a lasting entity, differing in certain spheres that do not directly affect the overall life of the society (Patterson, 1965:21-22).

It is evident here that the notion of society not only lacks any appreciation of its complexity, but that there is no perception of the influence of ethnic groups on the societies in which they live. Hence, the shortcomings of the assimilation model do not rest with what may be perceived as insensitive or over generalized phases of change, but with the ideology that lies behind it.

As Watson (1977) mentions, the assimilationist approach that Banton and Patterson proposed dominated the field of ethnic studies in Britain till the late 1960s. Its influence, he adds, could still be traced in government policy in the late 1970s. Thus, whatever its theoretical

flaws may be, it cannot be dismissed. The notion that immigrants influence the 'cultural amalgam', to use Bernard's term (in Gordon, 1959:68) has permeated American literature on the subject of inter-group relations, perhaps since the United States has experienced waves of immigration on a scale unknown in Britain. However, this notion has not yet gained equal consideration in Britain, though - to judge by recent government publications - changes in perception are taking place. The Swann Report (1985b), for example, while advocating that Britain should be a pluralist society, does speak of the "ethnic majority community" as one which does not remain untouched or unchanged by the presence of ethnic minority groups.

Finally, it should be noted, assimilation is a term often used by Gujaratis themselves, alongside the term 'westernisation'. Gujaratis use the former in an almost identical manner to that of British Jews, by classifying their fellows on a scale of varying degrees of assimilation. Westernisation, by comparison, is measured by the adoption of dress, food, or manners of speech of the white society; or, it is an indication of the absence of their Gujarati equivalents. Hence, assimilation is a more general term, while westernisation is more specific, and refers mainly to the adoption of western values and customs. Although westernisation excludes any reference to change on the part of the receiving society, Gujaratis think that British people are not indifferent to Indian culture. In this context they often refer to the proliferation of Indian restaurants and to the popularity of Indian food, and at times to various Hindi words that have been absorbed in the

English language. However, the fact that Gujaratis, or other ethnic minorities, hold a concept similar to that proposed by the assimilation model is perhaps connected to the confusion which Epstein highlighted (p.160). Such confusion, whether deliberate or not, helps to portray a situation where the responsibility for the position of an ethnic group rests entirely on the endeavours of the minority, as if inequality were a corollary of the group's distinctiveness.

This concept, however, is no longer held by all Gujaratis. A minority of younger, and more educated, Gujaratis, increasingly resent that their white colleagues reward them with the compliment that they are 'westernized'. It sets them apart, they say, from other Asians, as well as from other minorities, and it undervalues the Gujaratis' own culture. Their own definition of 'black' goes as follows:

> The term 'Black' is used to define the political position and implicit in this is the structural, social and linguistic position of Black people in Britain and in the world. It is through our direct link with members of the poor, oppressed people of the 'third world' versus the rich, dominant, white people of the 'north' that the term 'Black' is used. This is Black people's political definition of ourselves (North London Community Group, 1985:3).

This definition makes it apparent that adaptation of any kind is not, at the moment, the main topic on the agenda of people who identify themselves as 'black'. Though this view is not shared by the majority of Gujaratis, the number of Gujaratis who are at least familiar with this approach is increasing. Informants with whom I have been acquainted for a number of years did not initially hold such views for which they now strongly argue.

The following section articulates the views which some Gujaratis now hold about their position as an ethnic minority in Britain today. These views are the most visible change in the perceptions which Gujaratis have adopted regarding their role in British society, and their significance lies in their political ramifications.

4.2.3 The Emergence of 'Black' Gujaratis

The fact that Asians lived in East Africa under British rule provided a fertile ground for the perpetuation of contradictory feelings and attitudes towards Britain. These ambiguities are well reflected in a novel (Patel, 1979) about a Gujarati immigrant who, as a result of his failure to gain equal status amongst the British colonials, becomes hostile towards British people at home upon his settlement in Britain.

Many Gujaratis hold that the creation and maintenance of hierarchical order in East Africa left the Asians to become scape-goats (Bharati, 1972; Madmani, 1973) after the establishment of the East African states and the departure of the Europeans. Some Gujaratis, however, comment that Asians were content with the three-tier structure. 'They were blatantly racist' said one of them, 'and this is why they were kicked out of Africa'.

To fully appreciate the various factors which determine the position of Gujaratis vis-à-vis the white population in Britain, the influence of British colonialism, coupled with the decolonisation of the British empire, ought to be elucidated. There are two areas where these influences are most pronounced. One relates to ideological

justifications of British colonialism, e.g denying the natives their humanity. The other area relates to the institutionalisation of these ideologies, e.g in the form of immigration acts designed to curtail immigration from ex-colonies.

Parekh argues that the image of British colonialists as demi-gods on one hand, and of Asian people as inferior as men (see also Saifulla Khan, 1982), produced the kind of racism whose malignant effects are still experienced by Asians in Britain. Asians have developed, says Parekh, a 'guest complex':

> The complex consists in feeling that they are outsiders in Britain, that they should therefore feel a sense of gratitude to the 'host' country, thankfully accept whatever is made available to them, and deserve well of their hosts by good orderly behaviour and by making only minimal demands on the nation's resources (1978:41).

Parekh also points out that the British born generation does not suffer from this complex. An Asian born in Britain, he says:

> does not think that he should feel grateful for the privilege of being allowed to live in Britain. Britain is his home. He belongs to it, and it to him, just as much as it belongs to his white compatriots. Consequently, he does not feel the need to justify his existence, that is, to prove that he is a worthy member of the country, and makes claims on the country his parents never thought of making (1978:42).

This statement helps to explain why Gujarati parents do not judge the position of their children in the same way they judge their own. As will become evident later, Gujarati parents wish their children to have the confidence they themselves lack, and hope that they will achieve what they themselves, for whatever reasons, were unable to achieve.

At this stage, however, it is important to single out the ideological resources at the disposal of the two generations.

On visiting the home of a Gujarati editor, a young member of the family commented that: 'my colour will never change, so I might as well be Asian', by which she meant: 'if I cannot choose but to be an Asian I might as well make the most out of it'. One informant, who did not know her personally, mentioned that she had married out of love, rather than by an arrangement. She herself added that she would start working as an accountant once she finished her studies. Her belonging to a Gujarati minority was not perceived as a confinement, for she could pursue her ambitions regarding both her conjugal role and her professional status. Besides this, although she felt that various incidents she encountered would be best described as racist , she thought that white people varied in their attitudes towards non-whites.

It is difficult to say whether she would have liked to ascribe to herself that identity which she called 'Asian' had she not encountered prejudice. Prejudice against Asians was something of which she was always aware, and which influenced various, however minor, decisions that she occasionally had to make. Although she did not identify herself with 'black' Asians, she did not regard herself or her culture as inferior. In other words, she did not internalize the view that there was something inherently inferior about being an Asian.

In referring to this issue Percy Cohen once pointed out that:

> In all situations of social ranking there is a tendency for the lower classes or status groups to internalize, to some extent, and in some forms, some of the negative images which superiors have of them (1976:24-25).

Accordingly, this woman recognized that she too was prejudiced because she thought of her culture, in some respects, as superior to that of whites. In addition, she acknowledged that her prejudice was not on a par with that of white people, because ultimately whites held higher status in British society. The major difference between people such as this woman (the opinions she expressed were commonly held by Gujaratis in Harrow) and Asians who see themselves primarily as 'black' rests with their idiosyncratic approaches to change in society and to the corollaries of society's power structure.

This woman thought of change as an incremental process which would be achieved by the cumulative efforts of people like herself who would acquire a higher status in British society. That is, if Asians 'proved' that they contributed to British society, e.g. by being economically successful, the prejudices of white people would eventually disappear. Asians would be recognized as a positive element in British society and their value system would be appreciated. In short, her approach illustrates that of many other Gujaratis in Harrow who hold that adaptation to the civic culture of the majority is the key to their eventual advancement.

'Black' Asians, on the other hand, hold that the power structure of British society is to be blamed for their inferior status, that discrimination is embedded in its civic culture and that all blacks are ultimately discriminated against. They repeatedly resort to the term 'institutional racism' to describe this state of affairs. It is the establishment that ought to be changed first, they argue, not the attitudes which people possess.

Their frustrations often seem to be a result of a situation where they initially desired to conform and behaved according to what had been expected of them, but failed to achieve the status with which this conformity was associated. Alternatively, they might have observed that their kin or friends were being discriminated against. Asians who address themselves to the institutional interpretation of racism (Rex, 1986:108-114) have realized that united action to combat racism may be perceived, beyond their circles, as an endeavour of people who are 'unsuccessfully socialized'.

Berger and Luckman pointed out that a person who combats the stigmatic identity assigned to him:

> may react to this fate with resentment or rage, but it is qua inferior being that he is resentful or enraged. His resentment and rage may even serve as decisive ratification of his socially defined identity as an inferior being, since his betters, by definition, are above these brutish emotions (1967:185).

It was noted earlier that informants who had previously held views similar to the above-mentioned woman, have later revised their interpretations of the position of ethnic minorities. A few of them, who are now active in

various anti-racist lobbies in Harrow, express the idea that they had previously been 'coconuts'; they were 'dark on the outside but white on the inside', for they had internalized the prejudices of white people and thought there was something inherently inferior about their culture. They admit that they had previously been racist, but are careful not to refer to other Asians, who do not share their views, as being racist.

This ideological framework is closely linked to a specific interpretation of colonialism and in particular to the interpretation of the post-colonial era which saw dismantling of the British empire and the arrival of immigrants to take low-paid jobs. The new arrivals, according to this interpretation, were absorbed into a network of institutions, such as the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (and later the Commission for Racial Equality), and a special police unit that was established for detecting illegal immigrants[6]. These institutions emphasized the affiliation of migrants to a specific sphere of Britain's civic life, which apparently was designed to bar blacks from privileges enjoyed by the white majority. Special schemes, according to some scholars, are therefore ipso facto discriminatory.

Radicals such as A. Sivanandan have advocated that government funding, though allegedly granted for 'specific ethnic needs', was designed to "deepen ethnic differences and foster ethnic rivalry" (Sivanandan, 1981:13). Under the government's auspices a new black middle class leadership has emerged. This leadership, argues

Sivanandan, has diverted ethnic minorities from the class struggle, which is the major issue at stake.

Though 'black' Gujaratis do not accept all the tenets of institutional racism, it provides them new ground for moral exclusiveness (cf. Cohen, 1974b). It appears that they 'shop' for new ideas and that they seek to translate them into a position of power or, at least, into what they perceive to be a position of moral superiority.

This has already become apparent in previous chapters, which portrayed Gujaratis of the early 1970s as relatively passive. Later it was shown that they gradually articulated what may be termed 'the culture of discontent'. It may now seem clearer how an ethnic minority which has been content with its position at one stage, may not tolerate, for a long period, a situation devoid of any power. In other words, a group which did not dispute the system of inequalities and perceived it as legitimate may later seek to delegitimize the position to which it was initially assigned by using, amongst other strategies, a certain ideological framework.

Regarding the shift from acceptance to rejection, Tajfel notes that:

> It is this interaction between the perceived instability and illegitimacy of the system of differentials which is likely to become a powerful ingredient of the transition from the minority's acceptance of the status quo to the rejection of it (1978:8).

The first stage following the recognition that 'cognitive alternatives', to use Tajfel's phrase, do exist, would be to redefine all the relevant issues. One Gujarati

activist in Harrow once pointed out that any attempt to redefine the issues on the race relations' agenda in Britain was bound to fail since they were eventually redefined by whites. However, in that particular debate he was in the minority. The other activists were of the opinion that their views would have an impact on the establishment if they were, at the least, committed to the cause.

These developments among Harrow Gujaratis are not confined to this community. In addition, they are not confined to the British born generation. Radical and non-radical scholars often mention that the discontent of the British born generation (both Asian and Afro-Caribbean) is a result of its unique position. That is, where Asian and Afro-Caribbean youth feel that they do not 'fit', a process of ethnic definition begins (Watson, 1977). By the same token, however, the position of immigrants can also be described as 'between two cultures', where new strategies are required to resolve the various conflicts they confront. Accordingly, in Harrow the British born generation does not dominate the anti-racist lobby. Rather, it seems that people who join this lobby are more likely to identify with the Left in British politics, and are very unlikely to identify with the Right, that they are educated people and that they are well-aware of under-currents in British politics and society.

Similar shifts in ideology and political action occur in other communities in Britain today. The case of Bradford Mirpuris, for example, may further assist in

illustrating the complexity of the minority-versus-majority situation in Britain. Saifulla Khan describes Bradford Mirpuris as people who were mainly preoccupied with the difficulties of daily life. They maximized their efforts in order to ensure a return to Pakistan and were not engaged in any activities to confront their hostile environment:

> Involved in loyalties and status acquisition within the home frame of reference, and aware of the predominantly hostile or neutral feelings in the wider society, these first generation migrants maintain an unobtrusive life style, aimed at minimal disruption of the host society (1977:74).

Thus, the Mirpuris relied on communal relationships as the most beneficial form of organisation, as far as their aspirations were concerned, and they were not disturbed by the fact that their efforts had no status-related rewards in Britain. At the same time the Mirpuris did not lose the asset which was vital for uniting. Indeed, their communal relationships, as well as their associative organisation, were later mobilised for the purpose of redefining issues in their own terms.

The Honeyford case provides an appropriate example. The Pakistanis adamantly demanded the Education Authority to sack Ray Honeyford, a headmaster of Drummond Middle School, following articles and letters he had written to the "Salisbury Review" and the "Times Educational Supplement", where he attacked multi-cultural education. Whether or not his views were racist, as was alleged, the relevant point here is that the campaigners were determined to delegitimize views such as Honeyford's.

This response does not pose any difficulty for the evidence which suggested that they were a very 'low-key' community, perhaps even a community whose members had internalized a notion of inferiority. Rather, during the time since Saifulla Khan conducted her study, this community has changed. At the time of writing many Mirpuri and other Pakistani children were staying at home in protest against the reinstatement of Honeyford.

Any assertion about the characteristics of an ethnic group has to be confined to a particular period, and therefore this analysis too is confined to a well defined time span beyond which there is no speculation about the strategies that Gujaratis may adopt in the future.

In view of the Mirpuris' case and the evidence on the Gujaratis, their current discontent is well understood. If Mirpuris, who were less inclined to assimilate and minimized their interaction with whites have become 'militant', it is not surprising that Gujaratis, whose 'assimilationist assets' are far more evident, should not only express disappointment in British society but also seek to change their position.

In a way, a disenchantment could not have occurred earlier. During the consolidation period Gujaratis in Harrow established the firm economic base from which many of them now enjoy. They assumed that once they were established they would live in harmony with their non-Asian neighbours. By first establishing themselves economically, they followed in the footsteps of many ethnic groups (cf. Epstein, 1978). As Eisenstadt once pointed out:

> the immigrant's initial attraction to his new country may be limited to a single sphere (e.g. the attainment of certain economic goals), without any disposition to the performance of new roles in other fields, such as that of family relations. Consequently his integration into the new society may, at any rate at first, be impeded by the limitation of his expectations to only one, or a few, aspects of the social life and not to all of them (1976:42).

The aspirations of Gujaratis were not limited to a single sphere, or - if they were initially limited - they soon progressed beyond this stage. They were undoubtedly attracted by economic opportunities, yet the British born and British educated generation does not share this attraction. 'Black' Gujaratis are painfully aware of their position and do not, unlike other Gujaratis, find any comfort in the idea that their struggle will ease the predicament of future generations.

4.3 The First British Born Generation

4.3.1 Between Two Cultures

If the two cultures between which the Gujaratis oscillate are that of the motherland and that of the white society, to the British born generation the parents represent the culture of the motherland. Watson (1977), from whom the term 'between two cultures' is borrowed[7], applies it to the immigrants' rather than to succeeding generations. The position of the British born generation (which also includes youth who were educated in Britain but born elsewhere) discussed in this section, is also one of 'between two cultures', though of a different kind.

Gujarati parents often hold that unless they educate their children to respect their heritage, and unless the values which they cherish are instilled in their children, the latter will intermarry and 'lose their identity as Gujaratis'. Cultural formations are used in preserving communal relationships, for their loss is equated with the loss of the group. Saran (1983), in his discussion on Indian immigrants in the United States, observed that:

> As we look into the patterns of relationships between children and parents, we find that these are not smooth and often create serious confrontations. This is more apparent in those families where children have attained the age of fourteen or fifteen. Parents want to maintain the traditional authority structure in their families and often ignore the fact that the child's socialisation is influenced by the environment outside the family (1983:100).

Contrary to Saran's proposition it seems that in Britain Gujarati parents are well aware of the various influences to which their children are exposed. However, confrontations are created when parents and elders attempt to impose the traditional authority structure, in which age and gender determine the status of each member of the family.

Children are socialized into a family structure where they are expected to assume a certain role within it, as they grow up. Young unmarried members of a family, for example, are expected to reside with their parents until marriage, and parents often reside with one of their married sons. To socialize the young into such roles, parents set themselves as models of a viable life

style, e.g they claim that since arranged marriages have survived for numerous generations it is a superior way of establishing conjugal relationships. The high divorce rate in the west, they add, attests to the healthy stability of arranged marriages. Hence, when Gujaratis refer to the subject of losing their culture, they do not separate it from the traditional authority structure.

The view that a group is destined to disappear upon assimilation is closely linked to the perceived consequences of marrying non-Gujaratis. Gujaratis perceive assimilation as a linear process, as if - once started - the group is destined to be diffused. As was mentioned earlier, such views on assimilation have been challenged by academics in various ways, but not by Gujaratis themselves.

In one of the attempts to challenge its validity, made by Lee Hansen, it was argued that ethnic groups undergo a cyclical movement. Whereas the second generation tried to escape "the strange dualism into which they had been born", and wished "to lose as many of the evidences of foreign origin as they could shuffle off" (in Peterson, 1982:17), the succeeding generation celebrated its origins and invested considerable efforts in reviving specific elements of its ancestors' culture.

It is not possible, however, to distinguish generations as if their respective experiences are mutually exclusive. Most 'black' Gujaratis, for example, are not British born though the latter are more inclined to identify with this ideology. In addition, the British born generation may be counted as a third generation, since it is two generations removed from the migration to East Africa.

The signs of 'revival', to which Hansen refers, are present today. However, alongside these signs, which are not the monopoly of the British born generation, there are various other signs which resemble Hansen's description of the second generation but are prevalent also amongst the immigrants' generation. The 'revival' of ethnicity, therefore, in whatever form, should not be seen as a result of changes in the cultural sphere alone. There is no predetermined pattern, such as advocated by Hansen, which all ethnic minorities follow.

The main issue that this section addresses relates to the interests of young Gujaratis, whose position in British society appears at first to be more advantageous. It may be too soon to summarize the strategies they have developed, but there is by now sufficient evidence upon which some preliminary conclusions can be drawn.

4.3.2 Attitudes towards Education and Socialisation

When parents recognize that the socialisation through the education system may not serve what they perceive as both their own and their children's interest, they attempt to counter it.

As one mother explained:

> I have a duty to teach my son his heritage. He has to know where he comes from, otherwise he might find himself in the future left with nothing, because the society will not accept him. But the decisions that he makes about his life are his own. I cannot prevent him from doing what he thinks is right for himself. We are not like British parents who forget about their children when they finish their schooling. My duty is to equip him with education that will allow him to make a living, and we shall give him all the support we can. Then he can make up his own mind. We shall not stand in his way.

This mother was particularly critical of the British education system, and held that the education system in India was superior. Apart from being dissatisfied with the curriculum of the school her son attended, she held that Asian children were being discriminated against because they were not encouraged by teachers in the way that white children were. Her child was present at our discussions and his mother's attitudes could not have escaped his attention. This mother wanted to ensure that the environment in which her child grew up would not instil in him perceptions of inferiority. Having recognized that her son's interests or, for that matter, his generation's, could differ from that of the immigrants', she weighed the costs and benefits of the formal education he received. This led her to a conclusion that, ultimately, the decisions that her son would make would rest entirely on his judgement. It does not mean, of course, that once he is an adult his decisions will be immediately accepted by his parents.

Her view, which seems to be widely shared by Gujaratis, may result in the strengthening of communal relationships in the immigrants' generation. The preoccupation with institutional care for the elderly (see p. 264) is perhaps indicative of this sort of reasoning. The concern over provisions for the elderly appears - to a certain extent - to be misplaced, to judge by the small number of Gujarati elderly who now live on their own. However, the immigrants' generation is probably concerned that a gradual weakening of communal relationships within the British born generation will eventually result in their

rejection by the new generation. That is, Gujarati immigrants fear that coming generations will not accommodate them, as used to be the custom.

The father of the child mentioned above, a newsagent, wants his son to become a doctor. He also wishes his son to know, as well as to respect, the fact that his fore-fathers came from Gujarat and that he belongs to a certain caste, that is, the Patidars. Apparently, both parents seem to be preoccupied with what Cohen (1982) terms 'mythology of descent'. Hence, they went into great detail to explain the origin of the name Patel (their surname), and the differences between various people who carried this name. According to this specific 'mythology' a child is born into a certain group which, originating from common ancestors, had been performing specific tasks. The group survived because it maintained its position and did not inter-marry with other groups. Thus, the child owes the group his loyalty and should allow succeeding generations what he himself enjoys.

Another man, who came from Surat, has a flourishing business and has sent all his children, including his daughter, to study in higher education institutions. His elder son is now a solicitor. Other Asian minorities also value higher education. Many Sikhs, for example, highly regard the accountancy profession which, apart from being perceived as a 'safe' profession that secures employment, is also perceived as one which provides opportunities for setting up independent businesses. Conversely, social sciences or philosophy have very low esteem among Sikhs (Helweg, 1979).

Parents are aware that their children will not tolerate the prejudice with which they were ready to put up. This is a theme that often recurs in conversations with them. While being proud of the fact that their children 'would not put up with discrimination', parents are concerned that their children will react violently when, for example, National Front demonstrations march in their areas. In this respect they have internalized the view that there is something subversive in such a response.

So far it has been pointed out that parents have ambivalent feelings towards Britain and its people, and that they perceive the external influences on their children to be no less strong, and perhaps even stronger, than their own. Another comment should be made in this context. Gujaratis are also aware that the gap between themselves and their children might be widened because their children will eventually be more educated than they are. A comparison with American Jews (Sklare, 1972) suggests that this could be the case.

Sklare points out that Jewish parents did their utmost to ensure their children the best educational opportunities. Their non-Jewish neighbours therefore thought that Jewish children were unduly 'spoilt'. Indeed, many of these parents had little in common with their children, once the latter grew up (Sklare, 1972:78).

My own evidence suggests that Gujarati parents provide for their children what they would deny for themselves. And, like Jewish families, they encourage children to be dependent beyond the period of adolescence in the hope that this will be rewarded in the future. In

other words, they hope that if and when their children do not conform to the norms, e.g by marrying non-Asian women, this will not cost them personally, for the children will still be obligated to them. Hence, the awareness that formal education may widen the generation gap, so to speak, does not lead them to denying educational opportunities to their children.

This strategy of 'leaving the options open', of restraining the pressures exerted on youngsters, does not necessarily lessen the confrontations which children encounter. This is partly because parents who overtly state that such is their attitude do not necessarily follow it. Parents, in turn, are not free from pressures. However, when pressure is exerted overtly on youngsters, they might find themselves torn between contradictory demands, and unable to fulfil the expectations either of their families or, for example, their ethnically mixed peer group. A young Gujarati, in an account of his adolescence, recalls that:

> Being about 5 years old when I came to England, I had few memories of India - I had not formed my Indian identity yet. Having emigrated to England, I was to form two identities alongside each other: that which my family and community socialized me into, and that which the white society wanted (in Husband, 1982:182).

It seems that whether or not parents wish their children to emulate white culture, the latter experience conflicts which they are unlikely to resolve during adolescence. This may not have been the case if the white society were prepared to accept these children as equals. Hence, while the first British born generation is better adapted to life

in Britain, having to confront discrimination and stereotyping leaves it preoccupied with the maintenance of selfhood. Using Saran's term, some young Gujaratis experience identity crises.

Parents therefore attempt to ease the predicament of their children, as well as their own, by assisting in the creation of peer groups which consist of Gujaratis. I further examine this point in the next chapter, since the creation of peer groups is, to a large extent, fostered by caste and other associations (see p. 257).

To judge by current statistical data, it appears that few Asians marry non-Asians. A survey carried out by the Policy Studies Institute (Brown, 1984) reveals that 6 per cent of all the households in the minorities survey were headed by a partner in a mixed marriage or mixed cohabiting relationship. For both groups, i.e West Indian and Asian, it was more common for men to have white partners. When the mixed unions were recalculated as a proportion of all marriage and cohabiting relationships, it was found that 4 per cent of Asians and 15 per cent of West Indians had white partners (Gujaratis were included in the sample, but no data was calculated for individual Asian minorities).

When young Gujaratis create their own associations in an attempt to break away from traditional associations, this trend is beneficial in terms of the maintenance of group identity and organisation. With respect to the organisational forms of this generation it still remains to be seen whether youth associations will adopt Gujarati

or British symbolic formations. In particular it is difficult to foresee the kind of communal relations this generation will develop. It is more likely that they will embrace both, despite the fact that there are a number of factors that may stimulate tension between Asian and non-Asian youth. The higher unemployment rates amongst Asian youth is but one factor, and there are signs that Gujarati youth share many views of the immigrants' generation, for example, regarding mother tongue teaching at schools.

Asian youth, as the evidence from a conference organized by the National Association of Indian Youth demonstrates, reiterate the demand to include mother tongue teaching in schools' curricula (Parekh, 1977). In the course of this conference it was argued that: "They /the British/ want immigrants to adapt to the way of their mother tongue and culture, and this attitude must be changed" (Parekh, 1977:2). It was mentioned in this context that the EEC instructed member countries to teach immigrant children their mother tongue and culture.

This illustrates that Asian youth collaborate under the banner of common Indian identity. More interestingly, perhaps, is the fact that this conference presented the case for mother tongue teaching in the context of an EEC ruling. The relevant ruling on the education of migrant workers and their children (77/486/EEC) also advocated that "member states welcome help to integrate into its social and cultural life their migrants' presence and extend their language and culture"[8]. Despite the fact

that this is a stand which young Asians resent, their Conference still made use of the ruling.

Thus, alongside evidence which suggests that British born Asians are more likely to adopt British culture, there is growing body of evidence according to which youth desire to maintain traditional symbolc formations. In this specific case, the fact that they are well versed in English may even encourage them to make demands such as the one above, since they do not risk their position as people who can make full use of the vernacular language.

It therefore seems that youth associations manipulate ideological arguments to suit the aims which they attempt to achieve, regardless of whether these demands suit a uniform logical pattern. In this case, for example, the same youngsters would resent being regarded as immigrants' children.

Amongst the multitude of associations in Harrow, however, there is not even one association which represents itself as a youth association per se, though young Gujaratis do participate in the activities and are involved in the organisation of existing associations. A Liberal councillor in Harrow, Zerbanoo Gifford, rightly observed that most Gujarati youngsters confine their aspirations to the economic sphere. This observation should balance the portrayal of this generation as one which is increasingly alienated from the previous one.

Gujaratis resent it when they are referred to as 'thrifty' people whose main aim in life is to accumulate wealth (for example, see special issue of "Gujarat Samachar" on Gujarati businesses, 1985), but - in the

course of the observations - they have often commented on the strong economic drive of their community. They also commented on the lack of motivation to enter professions, e.g teaching, that are poorly paid. The strong economic drive, coupled with the growing difficulties of succeeding financially, may well strengthen the mutual interests of the two generations. As will later become evident, the growing unemployment in Britain has already influenced the immigrants' generation to change its attitudes with regard to its children's education.

4.3.3 The Role of Education in Removing Prejudice

Gujaratis, like Punjabis, have regarded education as the ultimate means for securing not only a respected position in Britain, but also as a means of fighting discrimination. Many Asian immigrants hold that racism can be counteracted by 'proving' that Asian children are no less capable than other children. As was earlier mentioned they also hold that prejudice is a result of ignorance of their heritage, and are therefore motivated to see knowledge of their culture widely spread.

The way in which the Punjabi community in Gravesend, for example, dealt with its children's education illustrates this point. In the beginning of the 1960s a rift in this community appeared as its members sought new strategies to improve educational and career prospects for their children.

The subject of the debate, which was recorded by Helweg, was whether Punjabis should establish a school of their own, and it followed an incident where two

children had been refused admission into an English public school "on the basis of thinly disguised discrimination". All the participants agreed that the teaching of Sikhism was of prime importance and that it would remove the inferiority complex that most children had.

One person who sided with the view that a school should be established said:

> Our goal is to have a school with a high standard just as the goras schools, regardless of our insecure position here due to the forthcoming Immigration Bill (Helweg, 1979:104).

Another speaker, however, thought that:

> If vocational education is important and needed for our children, then it should be taught on weekends and holidays. The great danger of segregated schools is that they will create social problems (1979:101).

Eventually, no steps were taken to establish a Sikh school, as parents did not want to jeopardize the children's chances of receiving the education which, despite the apprehensions, secured better employment opportunities. Accordingly, the importance attached to success in education should be understood in the context of success in employment. The Punjabi parent who wanted 'to show' the goras ('them', the whites) that his children were no less intelligent than others, wished to see his children successful in the employment market, for the same reasons but also for the sake of their personal welfare.

Gujaratis exhibit the same views. Moreover, like many other immigrants (Asian and others), Gujaratis arrived in Britain in order to improve their economic situation in the hope that their children would later be

able to make full use of the benefits. In the face of the growing unemployment in the late 1970s, this has proved difficult. Hence, educational aspirations may well be jeopardized by adopting a view according to which the link between education and employment is becoming weaker.

Since the 1970s a debate on the ways in which the British education system should respond to what was perceived as a multicultural society has increasingly intensified. Asians and Afro-Caribbeans have been occupied equally with this question. The more militant amongst blacks have argued that since racism is deeply embedded in all British institutions, the education system should undergo a major change. Parekh delineates the views of commentators who hold that:

> racism in society at large demeans and degrades the child, destroys his enthusiasm, weakens his motivation, distorts his psyche and makes him feel that educational success, however considerable, will not secure him a good job or enable him to improve his prospects. They argue, further, that institutionalised racism in the school in the form of biased textbooks, culturally loaded tests, ethnocentric curricula, low teacher expectations, the all-white ethos of the school, and so on, alienates the West Indian child from the entire educational system. What is more, he internalizes the low image of his group and therefore himself, and develops insecure self-identity (his conception of who he is) and low self esteem (his opinion of who he is) (Parekh, 1983:111).

Though this quotation refers to Afro-Caribbeans, a similar interpretation equally applies to Asian children (Swann, 1985b). In Harrow, however, the more militant activists (let alone the rest of the Asians) were prepared to go along with the concept of multicultural education. At

the same time, they advocated that mother tongue teaching should be incorporated into the curriculum.

Indeed, the actions and the attitudes of leading Gujarati activists have perpetuated a situation where no overall changes, but rather minor adjustments, are being made to correct a situation which is perceived to be detrimental to the advancement of ethnic minorities. Until 1985 the majority of Harrow Gujaratis were content that the Council would use the provision of Section 11 in the field of education, designed for "meeting the needs of the black population" (cf. Young, 1983:295). Their criticism was directed not towards the scheme as a whole, but rather towards the particular ways in which it was implemented. Gujaratis have been prepared to fund educational projects from their own resources and were encouraged by the Council to initiate both cultural and educational projects, as well as to finance them.

Such projects, apparently, attract wide support from the Gujarati population in Britain.

For example, one activist went to great efforts to produce a video film on the Hindu epic Ramayana. Two versions of this film were produced, one in Hindi and the other in English, with the intention of distributing it in schools throughout Britain.

The fact that this production was supported by practically all factions within the Gujarati community proves not only the importance which Gujaratis attach to the education of the indigenous society about Indian culture, but also that they have not completely endorsed the concept

of institutional racism in the field of education. It is difficult to envisage many other projects which would draw the support of such a wide spectrum of Indian organisations.

Other examples, of somewhat a different sort, reinforce this point. The pressure exerted on the Education Department in Harrow to introduce non-Christian, or non-denominational, assemblies in schools should be seen in this context. Another example is that of a poetry competition that was organized by Harrow CRC. This initiative was taken in the beginning of the 1970s, and the poems were intended to reflect the "co-existence of a multi-racial society as seen through the eyes of children and youth". Such initiatives were later led by the Asian community. In 1983, for example, three 'education packs' on Asian religions were prepared to be used by schools in the Borough. A teacher was seconded for one term by the Education Department in order to co-ordinate the project. More recently, such initiatives have been explained by their Asian protagonists as first steps in the direction of acquainting all children with Asian cultures; and they are now perceived to be on 'anti-racist' lines.

Harrow Education Department followed suit. It never clarified what the blanket phrase 'multicultural education' actually meant. It will never need to clarify the meaning of this term, as phrases like 'anti-racist education' have now begun to take over. In 1985 the Education Department adopted an anti-racist policy[9], and using the phraseology of the anti-racism lobby might - at least in the short

run - pre-empt claims made by this lobby against the education system.

4.3.4. Mother Tongue - Children and Mothers

Nowadays, when Gujarati parents can choose between speaking Gujarati or English (or both) to their children, they are divided on the question of whether speaking Gujarati at home is detrimental to their children's ability to speak English, and whether speaking both languages at home ensures that their knowledge of English is not impaired. Harrow Pakistanis, much like the Gujaratis, are concerned that their language, Urdu, will not be passed on to their children. This section explores the promotion of mother tongue education, a matter which concerns a wide cross-section of all ethnic minorities in Harrow.

When a representative of Harrow Chinese School asked the Director of Education why mother tongue education was not included in normal school curricula, he was told that it would be difficult to "support adequately each of the 14 mother tongues existing in the Borough" (CLWP minutes, 30 October 1984). This argument, which was often repeated by Harrow officials, ignores what is by now widely known in the Borough, i.e that more than 70 per cent of Harrow ethnic community speak Gujarati. However, the Council did not display any reluctance to support music curriculum on multicultural lines in Mountview High School, Harrow (see p. 196).

The support for this scheme is particularly interesting, for the teaching of Indian music was perceived to increase both the confidence of Asian parents in the school as well as the self-confidence of their children (CLWP minutes, agenda item no. 5(a), 20 May 1985). Conversely, the teaching of mother tongue was not perceived as corresponding to multicultural lines though it could equally raise the self-esteem of the children concerned. Surely, it would have made the knowledge of Asian languages an asset for those children who speak these languages at home.

The insistence of ethnic minorities that mother tongue classes should be supported financially (and otherwise), coupled with the refusal by Harrow Council to give assistance, gives rise to suspicion that the multicultural model of education cannot accommodate this interest.

Before explaining the objection to incorporating mother tongue teaching into school curricula I would like to further explore the attitudes of Gujaratis.

I have heard different views on this subject in Harrow. One mother admitted that she had a 'policy' of speaking English to her children (she spoke Gujarati to her husband) since they were toddlers. She eventually regretted this practice, since the children consequently could not speak Gujarati at all. Another mother held that she should speak Gujarati to her children. She thought that children picked up languages very easily and that they would therefore learn English when playing with their English-speaking friends. Yet another mother explained that her first born child spoke Gujarati till her second child learned to speak.

Both children conversated in English and consequently the first child no longer spoke Gujarati.

A specialist (Asian) social worker in the Borough pointed out to me that good command of English was held by Gujaratis as a status symbol. This was a much admired skill, to the point where parents took pride not only in the children's ability to speak fluent English but also in their inability to speak Gujarati.

Mothers often commented when I enquired whether their children spoke Gujarati that their children would not speak Gujarati although they understood the language. The social worker witnessed a few incidents where children would not speak Gujarati to her although they knew the language. This is also likely to happen in the presence of non-Gujarati children. While this behaviour may be attributed to 'simple manners', according to which it is impolite to speak a foreign language in the presence of a person who is ignorant of it, it is more probable that Gujarati children feared to give the impression that they were 'backward'. Speaking an Asian language and eating Indian food have been internalized as marks of inferiority (cf. Wilson, 1978:90-91).

Some mothers found it difficult to teach their children Gujarati since they themselves did not read and write the language, or did not find the time to teach it. This inability, apparently, is shared by many East African Gujaratis, and is due to Gujarati not being taught at East African schools after independence.

Muslim women, according to Anwar (1979), tend to take more initiative teaching their children reading and writing skills. They teach their children either Urdu or

Arabic by reading the holy book, the Koran. Muslim men would go as far as giving up extra hours of work to teach their children prayers. In Harrow, Gujarati children join their mothers while they conduct puja, a ritual conducted once or twice a day, more often in the absence of the male members of the household. Thus they learn how to conduct puja themselves and recite Gujarati ritual songs. However, women remark that they cannot teach Hinduism to their children since they themselves never systematically learned the teachings of their religion. Apart from one case when a father wrote pamphlets on Indian religions and went to great lengths to attract his children to study Jainism, most fathers with whom I talked did not take an active role in familiarizing their children either with the Gujarati language (beyond speaking Gujarati to them) or the Hindu or Jain religions. This father, an engineer by profession, also published fiction in Gujarati. An active member of the caste to which this father belonged bitterly complained that parents neglected their children's education, of whatever nature, because their efforts were solely directed to 'making money'.

The answer to what was perceived as the problem of language teaching was found in the establishment of Saturday schools, designed to teach Gujarati to children. At the time when only a few associations ran classes in Harrow, parents commuted to Wembley. Later, advertisements in "New Life", such as the one which appeared under the heading "Are your children losing their heritage?" (16 November 1984), announced the opening of Gujarati classes. This

advertisement announced the opening of a new Saturday school in Harrow by the Academy of Vedic Heritage. Other schools were also established, but some children still commute to schools outside Harrow. A number of Gujarati classes for adults were also established, and have both Gujarati and white students. It seems that the teaching of the Gujarati language to children, rather than any other feature of the Gujarati culture, has received most of the attention. Sikhs, like Muslims, put greater emphasis on the teaching of religion. The Gravesend debate mentioned above shows that the teaching of religion was a means of fighting what was seen as the accelerated westernisation of the children, and particularly of females. Religion teaching was equated, to a large extent, to the teaching of morality and was also a means of social control. It was designed to ensure that children would be 'successfully socialized'. In this respect Gujarati parents appear to be less demanding.

Das Gupta observed that language, in the context of ethnicity:

> provides a bond of unity among its speakers and defines a line of separation marking off one speech community from another. The bond of unity marked by language may be one of chance or choice, depending on whether the linkage is attained through mother tongue or a second language. In this sense, ethnic bond based on language can be viewed as either an evolved bond based on mother tongue or a deliberately created unity founded on a language other than mother tongue (Das Gupta, 1975:470).

The bond of unity that language provides is increasingly becoming a matter of choice. The fact that some Gujarati children in Britain are unable to speak in their mother tongue demonstrates that this choice is being put to use.

The awareness that the Gujarati language is an important part of heritage extends beyond teaching Gujarati to youth. In 1985 and 1986, for example, Harrow Women's Association organized events where poems were recited in different Indian languages. The Pakistan Women's Association in Harrow held a similar event. The Lohanas put on plays in Gujarati and so do Gujarati associations outside London. Language is therefore regarded not only as a means of communication, but also as an instrument to convey meanings which, to a certain measure, cannot be conveyed in other languages. As much as Gujaratis incorporate English words when speaking Gujarati, they resort to Gujarati words and phrases when speaking English. The Gujarati Literary Academy, which was established in Harrow to promote the writing of literature and poetry in Gujarati, further illustrates that Gujaratis are not only concerned with promoting their language as a medium of speech. The attitudes which lie behind the promotion of languages through means such as poetry competitions accord with Schutz' notion that:

> Language as a scheme of interpretation and expression does not merely consist of the linguistic symbols catalogued in the dictionary and of the syntactical rules enumerated in an ideal grammar. The former are translatable into other languages; the latter are understandable by referring them to corresponding or deviating rules of unquestioned mother tongue (1976:107).

Teaching Asian languages at schools is unlikely to give whites the ability to master tham as Asian people do. A white person thus risks becoming a stranger vis-à-vis the ethnic minority whose language he or she has studied. As Schutz pointed out:

> The approaching stranger has to 'translate' its terms into terms of the cultural pattern of his home group, provided that, within the latter, interpretive equivalents exist at all... It is obvious that the stranger cannot assume that his interpretation of the new cultural pattern coincides with that current with the members of the in-group. On the contrary, he has to reckon with fundamental discrepancies in seeing things and handling situations (1976:107-107).

It thus seems that ethnic minorities will be the main beneficiaries of mother tongue teaching. This, however, does not apply to music teaching, where the symbols involved are not translated verbally. Although Indians may be the most skillful players, non-Indian players are not required to handle a situation in which their ability to cope with unfamiliar cultural forms is threatened. Similarly, events where Indian music is played attract a non-Indian audience, but not events where the understanding of Indian languages is required.

The Swann report provides clear guidelines on which the Educational Authorities can rely. The Swann Committee clarifies that it does not support teaching school subjects using mother tongue languages as a medium of instruction, i.e bilingual education; nor does it hold that mainstream schools should take on responsibility for teaching ethnic minority languages. It does recommend, however, that Local Education Authorities, or individual schools, offer help and advice for community based provision. Minority languages should, the report adds, be included as part of the modern languages programme in secondary schools where there is sufficient demand.

Harrow ethnic minorities make explicit the reasons behind their desire to see the proliferation of mother tongue teaching. The Harrow-based Muslim Education Society, for example, in its application for an Urban Aid grant, makes the following points:

> a) Thousands of parents wish to but are unable to impart mother-tongue education to their children.
> b) This lack of facility retards their children's educational development.
> c) Our school, the oldest for teaching Urdu in Harrow, is in danger if being closed down due to lack of funds.
> d) Inferior education resulting from lack of mother-tongue teaching /emphasis mine/ is a main cause of several other problems, e.g, slow integration; lack of communication; heavy burdens on local authorities; job situation (CLWP, agenda item no. 5(b), 1 April 1985).

The points delineated above are particularly interesting because the Swann Committee uses the same arguments to advocate that a first priority be given to teaching English as a second language. The above quotation mentions 'slow integration' and impaired job prospects due to lack of support for mother tongue teaching. Conversely, the Swann Committee firmly holds that English, rather than mother tongue teaching, is essential "to equality of opportunity, to academic success and more broadly, to participation on equal terms as a full member of society" (1985a:11).

In 1983, Harrow CRC published a discussion document, "The multi-lingual classroom". The paper maintained that mother tongues should be taught at schools and demanded the free use of schools' premises for teaching them. In the same year an umbrella organisation of all voluntary groups which ran mother tongue classes, the Mother Tongue Education

Action Group, was set up to campaign for better support for mother tongue teaching in the Borough. Both the Oshwal Association and the Harrow Bangla School, being members of this umbrella organisation, appealed to the Borough for an Urban Aid grant, but their applications were turned down. By 1985, the recommendations of the discussion paper have not yet been implemented, and the Council refused to provide free premises for mother tongue teaching, or to let premises at reduced rates. By the end of that year, however, Harrow agreed that school premises could be used for mother tongue teaching, free of charge, a decision which - some Asians commented - was due to the coming elections to the Council in May 1986.

The response of the Council to what ethnic minorities portray as 'pressing needs of the community', is generally congruent with the recommendations made by the Swann Committee. Although there is an awareness amongst Council members of growing demand for mother tongue teaching, the Council still struggles to maintain the legitimacy of the view that ethnic minorities are better off improving their ability to master the English language. This task is now facilitated by the Swann report, which was the major document of reference at the time of writing. On the whole, this report held that bilingualism is not an asset in British society. It recognized, nonetheless, that a child whose mother tongue is not English requires special provisions.

The recommendations of this report indicate the inability of ethnic minorities to convince the education authorities to adopt their own approach to this issue. The

struggle to legitimize mother tongue teaching, in whatever constellation of minority-majority relationships, may take many years. For example, it took almost a century for Landsmal to be recognized in Norway as the second official language (Peterson, 1982). Because the standard speech used by the educated middle class in Norway was close to Danish, Landsmal, being an amalgam of several dialects spoken by peasants and fishermen, was perceived as second-rate language. The position of Landsmal speakers changed as a result of gaining official recognition, when it became compulsory to teach this language at schools.

This example helps to illustrate the broad implications of a statutory response to a minority's language. However, the position of Landsmal speakers in Norway was more favourable than that of Britain's ethnic minorities. At present, only in areas where their proportion of the population is significant, do ethnic minorities have the opportunity to enforce their own definition of the situation, as well as its implications for power-sharing and resource allocation.

4.3.5 Education - The Employment Perspective

The growing unemployment in Britain has affected the Asian population as a whole, including Harrow (Harrow Resource Centre, 1985). This trend may result in an erosion of the view that education is a key to success, and therefore to an improvement of the position of the British born generation.

While there is no accurate data on what segments of the Asian population in Harrow are affected most, there is a growing recognition amongst Gujaratis that unemployment is on the increase. The issue of employment came to the fore in many meetings of the CLWP. Members of Harrow ethnic minorities repeatedly demanded that more blacks be appointed as Section 11 employees, including teaching staff. In a meeting on Section 11 provisions in education, held in February 1986, representatives of Harrow Education Department emphasized that favouring black candidates would create a breach of the 1976 Race Relations Act, since no discrimination could be exercised in favour of any candidates. To that an Asian parent answered: 'you should change job descriptions. If you demand that Section 11 employees be acquainted with the culture of Asian minorities, Asian candidates would be more likely to get the jobs'.

Apparently, the fact that only a minority of Section 11 employees (in the field of education) were black was a major factor in the withdrawal from this scheme of support by Harrow ethnic community. The appointment of more black staff under Section 11 could not, of course, change the overall employment situation.

Gujaratis examine equally various aspects of the market place for signs of unemployment, and do not necessarily rely on comparative statistics, such as are made available by, for example, the Harrow Resource Centre.

The concern over unemployment led one voluntary association, which previously had no interest in the issue,

to address itself to the problem. The Indian Volunteers of Community Service (IVCS), an association which had members from both Brent and Harrow, was initially founded to send young volunteers to India for a period of six months to do some kind of community work.

The organizers apparently found that some volunteers were unable to go to India because they could not find a job and save money; other volunteers thought that they were just about to get a job and did not want to miss such an opportunity. Hence, the situation which the IVCS faced jeopardized the continuation of this project. Subsequently, the organizers decided to address themselves to the problem of unemployment.

They planned a seminar where the issue would be debated both by various officials and by representatives of Asian associations. The intention was to decide on appropriate strategies to alleviate the situation. Having little hard data on the subject, they not only turned to local agencies for more information, but also asked them to participate in the seminar, which by then had gained the financial support of the Greater London Council. The area office of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC), which was approached by the association, fully admitted that it had no information on the subject. Furthermore, the MSC was unwilling to take part in the seminar.

About 70 people, mainly from Harrow and Brent, eventually participated in the seminar. The speakers pointed out that Asian men who did not speak English well were more likely to become unemployed, and that at least half of unemployed Asian men were found to have a serious

linguistic problem . It was also argued that young students could not enrol in English as a Second Language courses for - if they took a part time (as opposed to full time) course - they were not eligible for welfare benefits.

A member of the IVCS concluded the seminar, and the resolutions he put forward were unanimously supported by all the participants.

The views expressed by this member, Mukat Singh, allude to various issues that have been discussed in this chapter:

> Preponderance of Western culture coupled with coercive pressures from the host community and a sense of insecurity in the society put a lot of pressure on us and our children to conform and become assimilated into the host culture. No wonder our children tend to go away from us as if they have been hypnotised and indoctrinated. Many grown-ups also get confused. To counteract this, the first requirement is mental stability and cultural awareness. To achieve this psychological stability, self respect and self esteem we must understand our own cultural roots.

The seminar's agenda had no mention of education or, for that matter, the role of culture. Yet its conclusions were almost exclusively related to these issues. It may be argued that the representative of IVCS used the seminar to promote the idea that the Asian community should not seek to assimilate but rather socialize the young and bring them back to their 'roots'. After all, the very purpose of the IVCS was to familiarize Asian youngsters with their heritage by acquainting them with the Indian subcontinent. Nevertheless, the resolutions were accepted

by virtually all the participants. In addition, the quotation above is very much in line with the points raised by the Muslim Education Society in its Urban Aid application.

This event should not be seen as one which necessarily reflects the situation outside Harrow. The Conference of Indian Youth, for example, which had one session on unemployment, was much more forceful in its demands. The higher unemployment of Asian youth, in comparison to white youth, was perceived as directly related to racism. Without the support of trade unions, the representatives argued, it would be almost impossible to prove the prevalence of racism in the work place. In addition, the Conference demanded that the British government introduce programmes for teaching English to Asian adults in factories.

The fact that unemployment hits ethnic minorities harder is not interpreted by all Gujaratis in the same fashion. Many Gujaratis do not relate economic prospects to the prevalence of racism. Moreover, those who are burdened by the growing unemployment do not necessarily put the State and its institutions at fault.

Many of them admit to positively discriminating against people of their own caste or background when selecting employees for their own firms. The Oshwal Association in Harrow, for example, keeps lists of posts made available by Oshwal employers.

This said, their disappointment in the British education system, which has failed in their view to gain

the advantages they sought to achieve, may result in a more 'inward' looking approach to education. That is, rather than promoting English language teaching, it seems - to judge by evidence described in this chapter - that greater emphasis will be put on mother tongue teaching and the teaching of religion and heritage. This tendency, undoubtedly, acts as a cohesive force within the community. It requires close collaboration for the purpose of organizing educational programmes, it intensifies communal relationships, and it facilitates the maintenance of cultural formations.

It was intended in this chapter to describe the views of Gujaratis towards their own culture and juxtapose these views, as well as the strategies employed both to maintain their culture and promote their interests, against their common historical background. These strategies, it was shown, are only partly related to the motivation of Gujaratis to succeed economically and to give their children the best educational opportunities. The growing reliance of Gujaratis on socialisation agencies, such as Saturday schools, indicates the following trends:

a. The role of parents is weakening with regard to socializing the children as members of the Gujarati community.

b. The role of communal institutions, including pressure groups, either of parents' groups or professional Gujaratis (particularly in the teaching profession) is strengthening.

The second trend alludes to the adaptability of

Gujaratis to the British institutional mould, whereby pressure is more likely to be effective when it is exerted collectively, preferably by organized groups which are well-informed about the institutions they seek to influence and are able to persevere in their task. The following chapter further expands on the organisation of Gujaratis and describes the associations which they have established.

Notes (chapter 4)

(1) In a novel by Ursula Sharma, a Punjabi immigrant sensitively expresses the insecurity that many Asians in Britain like him share:

> ...since this Powell has been making speeches I have begun to think more about it /expulsion/ and to be afraid. I do not take any English papers because I cannot read them easily, but I hear about these political matters from my friends and from what I see in television. We cannot tell how soon the day will come when we shall be told, 'Now, brothers, it is time for you to go'. If such circumstances were to arise, I were to be left with no money for my return fare, what should I feel? (Sharma, 1971:100-101).

(2) This ritual is called murat (lit. an auspicious moment), and it is conducted when the foundations of a new house are laid. In Gujarat it is conducted both by a Brahmin and a family member. In Britain it is sometimes conducted without the assistance of a Brahmin, whose role, normally, is to recite certain prayers.

(3) The Indian Foreign Exchange Regulations Act has been in existence since 1947, its purpose being to regulate the inflow and outflow of foreign exchange. Under new regulations, introduced in 1973, companies which were engaged in non-priority industries were required to bring down their foreign equity to 40 per cent. Subsequently, some companies decided to wind up their operations in India (this information was extracted from publications of the Indian Investment Centre). This further illustrates that, in spite of a policy to attract foreign investors, there are certain risks involved in such enterprises.

(4) Primordialists, say Glazer and Moynihan, hold that "Men are divided thus and so, the reasons for their division are deep in history and experience, and they must in some way be taken in account by those who govern societies" (1975:19). Circumstantialists, by contrast, look to "immediate circumstances to explain what groups maintain their identity, why ethnicity becomes a basis of mobilization, why some situations are peaceful and others filled with conflict" (1975:29).

(5) In "The Times" (12 October 1976), one murder case appeared under the headline "Father killed in order to save honour". In another case, "The Evening Mail" explained the death of the Sikh adolescent by saying that "The 17-year-old girl refused to live by the tradition - and died because of it" (11 October 1977).

(6) A Central Illegal Immigration Intelligence Unit was set up in 1972 and initially combined work on illegal drugs and illegal immigration. The two functions were separated in 1980 and the CIIIU was moved to Harmondsworth. The main function of the CIIIU was to

assist in the detection of organized illegal and clandestine entry. It was disbanded during the inquiries made by the Commission for Racial Equality into immigration control procedures (CRE, 1985).

(7) The title of his book, says Watson, was suggested by Nancy Foner and Verity Saifulla Khan. Other authors too, e.g Muhamad Anwar, often make use of this phrase.

(8) Council Directive, 25 July 1977, articles 1-3 (articles 4-6 specify the implementation of the previous articles):

(1) This directive shall apply to children for whom school attendance is compulsory under the laws of the host State, who are dependants of any worker who is a national of another Member State, where such children are resident in the territory of the Member State in which the national carries on or has carried on an activity as an employed person.

(2) Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, take appropriate measures to ensure that free tuition to facilitate initial reception is offered in their territory to the children referred to in Article 1, including, in particular, the teaching - adapted to the specific needs of such children - of the official language or one of the official languages of the host State. Member States shall take the measures necessary for the training and further training of the teachers who are to provide this tuition.

(3) Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, and in cooperation with States of origin, take appropriate action to promote, in coordination with normal education, teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for the children referred to in Article 1.

(9) The policy statement goes as follows:

That the Education Committee requires all of its Education institutions and services to create, maintain and promote racial equality and justice. That it is opposed to racism in all its forms and resolves therefore:

(1) To promote understanding of the principles and practices of racial equality and justice and commitment to them.

(2) To identify and remove all practices, procedures and customs which may discriminate against ethnic minority people with the aim of ensuring that all practices, procedures and customs operate in a manner which is fair to all.

(3) To encourage ethnic minority parents and communities and organisations to be fully involved in the decision making process which affects the education of their children.

(4) To increase the influence of ethnic minority parent organisations and communities by supporting educational and cultural projects which they themselves initiate.
(5) To adopt good and fair recruitment and selection procedures in accordance with the Code of Practice for the elimination of racial discrimination published in 1983 by the Department of Employment.
(6) To monitor and evaluate the implementation of Council policies and to make changes as appropriate.

CHAPTER 5

THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN THE ORGANISATION OF THE GUJARATI COMMUNITY

5.1 Towards a Definition of Gujarati Ethnicity

In this chapter the loyalties, identifications and motivations of Gujaratis are further analysed, mainly by highlighting their associative organisation . The preliminary assumption from which the previous chapter proceeded was that Gujaratis are a distinguishable category in that they share a common language, culture, religion and history. Their particular historical experience, coupled with the social, political and economic circumstances which they faced on arriving and settling in Britain, had a specific influence on the formation and shaping of their cultural orientation.

The maintenance of relationships with the country of origin further fuelled their motivation to preserve the knowledge of the Gujarati language. Language thus became a symbol of the community's continuation, one which did not arouse the antagonism of any one of its factions. Gujaratis thus hold that their preservation in British society is dependent above all on the knowledge of the Gujarati language (cf. Kanitkar, 1979).

That Gujaratis share certain common denominators does not guarantee their perpetuation as a group. Moreover, issues that concern Gujaratis solely may not enhance their cohesion.

The compensation of Ugandan Asians, an issue that was continually being raised by Praful Patel and Manzoor

Moghul seemed at the time (after Idi Amin was no longer in power) to be an issue that should have concerned the majority of Gujarati expellees. Soon after the change of regime, in 1980, it was believed that, if British Asians from Uganda convinced the British government to act on their behalf, they would be compensated for the loss of property incurred at the time of the expulsion. It was for this end that the Uganda Evacuees' Association was established. Yet this issue did not stimulate the unanimous support of Ugandan Asians despite the fact that over 7,000 applications for repossession were made ("The Times", 15 and 19 April 1983).

Common concerns, including the threat of racism, do not demarcate ethnic boundaries. Rather, I would argue, when ethnic groups face discrimination and racism, demarcation lines tend to persist (cf. Banton, 1955:228-229). Accordingly, racism in Britain has not led to the creation of a united front or a strong lobby which fights racism (cf. Ben-Tovim and others, 1982) although it has affected the organisation of ethnic minorities. The previous chapter showed how racism gave rise to the emergence of 'black' solidarity amongst Gujaratis and other Asians that stretches to include Afro-Caribbeans, and possibly some white minorities. Only a small number of Gujaratis participate in 'black' anti-racist associations, and this chapter will touch this subject only briefly.

For the majority of Gujaratis demarcation lines between Asian minorities are very tangible. Whether or not one recognizes Punjabis, Gujaratis and other South Asian minorities as separate ethnic groups, various political

events tend to demarcate ethnic identities, sometimes in terms of inter-group hostility (Robinson, 1986:80-81).

The mutual dislike of Pakistanis and Indians stretches back to the establishment of India (if not before), when Muslims demanded a state of their own. Hostility between the respective immigrant populations in Britain grew when the Indo-Pakistani wars broke out, in 1965 and 1971 respectively (Anwar, 1979:181).

According to Hahlo (1980) mutual hostility also exists between Muslim and Hindu Gujaratis in Britain. In Bolton, where he conducted his study, Hindus organized classes to teach their children Gujarati and Hindu philosophy, whereas Muslims established their own religious, as well as other associations. With regard to economic co-operation, Hahlo clarifies that "neither will happily work for the other" (1980:306).

In November 1984, when the news came of the assassination of India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Sikhs in Southall celebrated, a scene that was shown on television and seen in thousands of Gujarati homes. Gujaratis were deeply hurt by this display of emotion (this assertion is based both on reports in newspapers as well as on personal accounts), which served as a reminder that some Sikhs in India and abroad had aspirations which differed from those of the remainder of Indians. As a result of this incident and the riots that broke out throughout India communities around the globe unveiled sentiments of hostility. In Harrow, a memorial service for Indira Gandhi was conducted by various Asian local leaders a week after

assassination and helped towards a reconciliation.

Indo-Pakistan hostility still persists. At the time of writing the Indian government has reached an agreement with the Sikhs in the Punjab, but many Sikhs are not content with this state of affairs.

However, a national or international conflict which damages inter-group relations is not the only cause of inter-group hostility. Past hostilities between religious minorities may still have considerable force. The covert hostility of Muslims towards Jews, as mentioned by Anwar (1979), is only one example of many. While 'pacifying' mechanisms have been established amongst Muslims, Christians and Jews, such mechanisms, in the form of inter-faith associations and conferences, have just begun to draw in Asian minorities. This may be a consequence of the fact that Asians interact, despite the conflicts, both informally (for example, they frequent the same Indian grocery shops) and formally (for example, while working with institutions concerned with immigrants and race relations).

The affiliation to ethnic groups is not dependent upon hostility, nor does it thrive when there is no interaction between groups. Gujaratis often comment, for example, on differences between themselves and other South Asian minorities. That is, they cherish certain notions of character differences between themselves and other Asians.

Barth commented on this point:

> ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundation on which embracing social systems are built (1969:10).

Barth (1969), and also Glazer and Moynihan (1975), argue that interaction per se does not lead to the erosion of ethnic distinctions, a proposition which this analysis endorses.

It is important to clarify the issue of interaction with other minorities, since Gujaratis are but one Asian minority, one which - in broad terms - interacts socially with other ethnic minorities as well as with the indigenous population. The following section specifies the circumstances in which they interact, and how the interaction between them is mediated by the State.

Earlier in the thesis it was also mentioned that the creation of associations, the institutional manifestation of communal relationships, requires political and ideological articulation. The skills involved in this articulation, apart from those related to the maintenance of bureaucratic organisations in general, come to the fore as we examine the relationships of Gujaratis with other ethnic communities in the Borough of Harrow.

Chapter 3 concentrated on the activities of Gujaratis in the public sphere, and described the struggle to obtain resources provided, mainly, by central government. The following section broadens the scope of this discussion, to show how individual associations effectively negotiate their ethnicity. The discussion on the functions of

associations is then taken one step further, to show how demarcation lines between ethnic communities evolve, with a particular emphasis on the constraints that are imposed by the State. Following an account of the role of religion in this context, some observations on the nature of associative organisation are made. The chapter ends with a discussion of kinship and caste, and with some concluding remarks on the links between caste associations and the political establishment.

Most Gujaratis, this chapter proposes, ascribe themselves to a certain segment within the Gujarati minority, which is traditionally known as caste. Apart from establishing caste associations they have created religious, educational, cultural and other associations. This infrastructure is the basis of continually changing alliances between different segments of the Gujarati population, through which symbols of unity or factionalism are manifest. The most striking feature in the emergence of associations, from the early 1970s and even before, is that they were highly specialized. Rather than catering for a multitude of needs, individual associations tended to concentrate on particular areas such as are mentioned above. This differentiation indicates a high degree of interdependence among the different spheres of activity. Yet this observation has to be measured against the emergence of caste associations whose activities and facilities are unmatched by any other Gujarati associations.

Considering the literature on caste in Britain, it first seemed as if the ascription of Gujaratis to caste and their affiliation to caste associations would overshadow the fact that the organisational factor covers a number of different kinds of associations. A closer examination of the activities in which Gujaratis are involved demonstrates that caste is but one feature of a highly complex structure.

The struggle to promote Gujarati language teaching in schools, for example, is one issue which clearly demonstrates that caste is but one identifier that may be entirely irrelevant in some 'ethnic' circumstances. Various Gujaratis are involved in the promotion of mother tongue teaching in schools regardless of their caste affiliation. Together with non-Gujaratis they establish various associations which are not visible as caste associations, i.e whose names reveal the populations to which they are addressed. The names of the former associations do not disclose who are in fact the members. Some of the people involved in these pressure groups resent it when the term 'ethnic' is applied to their endeavour, on the ground that it is associated with an inferior status. The North London Community Group, for example, comprises Afro-Caribbean and Asian members, mainly from Harrow and Brent, who subscribe to the tenets of the institutional interpretation of racism. They advocate the promotion of mother tongue teaching in schools, which - so they hold - should be supervised by people who have first hand knowledge of these languages. The name of this association, nonetheless, does not suggest

that it supports anti-racism, let alone the make-up of its membership.

Some 'black' Gujaratis in Harrow - perhaps unexpectedly - are also involved in caste and religious associations. This observation should not be seen as contradicting, or undermining, the role of caste associations. Rather, it reinforces the point that Gujaratis attempt to define their ethnicity in their own terms. Many Gujarati activists are interested in the promotion of a certain image of their community and this interest leads them to seek new ways of interacting with the wider community.

The following section explores various channels of interaction and communication between Gujaratis, other ethnic communities and the indigenous population.

4.2 Negotiating the 'Community'

Since the 1970s inter-group relations in Britain have been encouraged under the banner of multiculturalism, designed to replace the assimilationist approach earlier advocated by the Department of Education (Willey, 1984:24). 'Black' Gujaratis consider multiculturalism as 'tokenism': 'show me how to make a samosa, and I will show you how to tie a sari' (cf. Willey, 1984). They dismiss the ideology of racial harmony as one that perpetuates the current position of black people in Britain. However, many Asian associations took part in multicultural functions, where various minorities could meet and where people could become

acquainted with cultures other than their own. These functions also provide an opportunity for the majority to become acquainted with minorities whose ethnic affiliation is not 'visible', meaning: minorities with identical external appearance. Hence these activities emphasize the dissimilarities between groups, as each one of them is expected to demonstrate its own individual character. This illustrates an attempt by the State to redefine ethnicity, via its institutions, in terms that are presumably more acceptable to ethnic minorities.

The Borough of Harrow, in turn, endorsed the ideology of multiculturalism, but in practice it encountered genuine difficulties in determining which minorities could be counted as 'ethnic'. At times, though, it deliberately ignored what is by now common knowledge amongst many councillors, i.e that the Gujarati language is the mother tongue of the majority of the Asian population in the Borough. Though these difficulties are not spelt out in terms of dominance of a power elite, they are manifested in a resource allocation procedure which is ultimately synonymous with sharing power.

There are a few guidelines which the Council attempts to follow, e.g that one minority should not be favoured over another. Nevertheless, it has gradually become apparent that the principles by which resources are allocated are not related solely to the size of the group; thus one minority may ultimately be favoured over other ethnic minorities, or at least be over-represented either in the Harrow CRC or on Council committees and therefore exercise more influence.

The ability of a group to gain funds depends on the competence of its brokers to negotiate with the authorities. At times, these brokers need to exhibit their respective minorities as having distinct traits; at others, they 'stretch' the definition of the minority they supposedly represent to include other social categories with which they share some cultural characteristics. Yet the question remains whether administrative definitions, i.e those according to which resources are allocated, have any lasting effect on the organisation of ethnic groups.

The following example illustrates the interaction between councillors and representatives of an ethnic minority and its consequences in relation to ethnic distinctions.

A member of the Pakistan Women's Association presented their application at a meeting of the Community Liaison Working Party (no members of the public were admitted, but I was granted a special permission to be present) in order to apply, via the Council, for an Urban Aid grant. She was then asked by one councillor whether Pakistani women would be the only ones to benefit from the grant. The representative understood that the member was concerned that Bangladeshi women, probably due to the conflict between Pakistan and Bangladesh, were being prevented from joining the association, and hence from enjoying the prospective grant. She answered that all Muslim women were welcome to join the association and emphasized that there was no animosity between themselves and Bangladeshi women.

The councillor above was probably concerned that the grant would reach only a segment of the Muslim population in the Borough. A community centre that was previously set up (and financed by an Urban Aid grant) for the use of the Asian community apparently became, so the Pakistanis alleged, a Gujarati place of gathering. As a result, further pressure was put on the Council to provide accommodation for the educational activities of a Pakistani association, which was now left without premises. The councillor's prime concern, therefore, was that the grant, if received, would not be followed by other, 'similar', applications. He thought that the best solution for the problems of this community would be to assimilate and put forward his opinion on this matter. Yet he did not possess a clear-cut perception of what segments of the Asian population constituted distinct ethnic groups. Rather, his response reflects the State funding behaviour which is related to the guidelines mentioned earlier. Werbner sums it up and points out that, with regard to communal ethnic projects:

> Notions of administrative equity dictate that there can be only one community centre, one service for the aged or one battered wives' refuge for each specified ethnic group (1984b:5).

The State, or, for that matter, the local authority, does not possess a 'map' of well-defined ethnic boundaries. For some schemes and projects it is religious adherence which produces boundaries (for example, the provision of meals), yet for others it is mother tongue. However, the 'funding behaviour' to which the quotation refers is above all

connected to conflicts over resources. The State, in response to such conflicts, prefers to fund projects for a wider clientele, and as a result displays what is often termed by various Community Relations Councils (including Harrow's) as 'culture blindness'. This 'blindness', in turn, prevents the State from intervening in the emergence of alliances between ethnic minorities and in the creation of new ethnic identities.

The interest of Harrow ethnic minorities is to get a larger share of resources allocated to them. This is by no means their only interest but is one which has become increasingly evident during the 1980s. Any avenue for obtaining resources is therefore thoroughly explored. Apart from funding given by central government, other sources of funding, e.g the GLC, were also investigated, as each source employed a different set of criteria for eligibility.

The Council tried in this situation to maximize its own power, and not necessarily by withholding resources. For example, the Council was unwilling to apply on behalf of Harrow CRC for a grant to finance an Equal Opportunities adviser; it preferred to employ one itself, as a Section 11 employee. In 1985, the Council appointed a white Equal Opportunities adviser. Asian representatives protested and said that this adviser could neither represent nor sympathize with the interests of the ethnic community. In this particular instance, the Asian community failed to prevent the appointment of a white person to the post. On other occasions, the pressure exerted on the Council was effective.

At one time, for example, the Council provided meals for elderly Asians from its central catering service, but by 1985 these meals were prepared by Asian women. This particular scheme was funded by the MSC, for a limited period. More importantly, these meals were prepared on premises in a neighbourhood whose residents had strongly protested against the project. The setting up of this project was therefore seen by the Asian population in Harrow as proof that by joint action its influence could be effective.

The conflict over the allocation of resources is not confined to Harrow ethnic minorities. The struggle for resources should be seen in a broader context, where a multitude of various associations attempt to assert the supremacy of their interests. In this dynamic struggle associations resort to various ideologies to support their appeals.

The attempt of Harrow ethnic minorities to legitimize their specific needs led to a re-definition of the 'community' as a concept which allows for cultural diversity and ultimately legitimizes special provisions.

Previously the majority, or, the indigenous population, counted as 'the community'. That is, ethnic minorities were expected to be absorbed in 'the community', as if society was made of a homogenous social and cultural amalgam. During the 1980s, ethnic minorities in the Borough attempted to alter this state of affairs, according to which the standardized services were equally accessible and suitable to all residents in the Borough.

In other words, ethnic minorities challenged a specific concept of the community.

In 1982, for example, when the Working Party on Racial Assaults discussed the formation of a Police Community Consultative Committee, the Police emphasized that:

> community representation on any such body should be wide-ranging and... it should seek to involve representatives of, for example, the churches, senior citizens and Housing Associations in addition to groups such as ethnic minorities (WPRA minutes, 22 April 1982).

Hence, 'community representation' was primarily perceived as based in the indigenous community. A debate which took place three years later reflects a change in the position of Harrow ethnic minorities. The subject of the debate was the nature of a consultative committee which would provide the ethnic community with the opportunity to present its view to the Council. It was not clear at the outset whether this forum should address itself solely to the ethnic community.

In a public meeting of the CLWP, where the setting up of the committee above was discussed, a representative of a residents' association objected to the establishment of such a committee. The suggestion of one councillor that two committees should be set up was objected to by a representative of another residents' association. In a letter to the CLWP, the honorary secretary of the Hatch End Association argued that:

> the aim should be to integrate and to encourage ethnic minorities to help their adult members who do not understand English language and customs to a communicable level and therefore

> remain isolated in the community
> (from a letter sent by the Hatch
> End Association, 17 May 1985).

The same letter referred to a campaign by the Hatch End Association to purchase a hall "for the benefit of the community at large". Another residents' association, however, admitted that people who belonged to ethnic minorities were "not very active members". It also drew the attention of the working party to the fact that a proper balance between the interests of 'all sections' of the community should be preserved. Setting up a consultative committee, the letter suggested, might encourage ethnic minorities to expect "an excessively high level of support".

In other words, these associations wanted to maintain the status quo where ethnic minorities would not receive more resources than they had already gained. To this end they were prepared to adjust their definitions; hence the reference to 'the community at large', or, alternatively, to 'all sections' of the community. Though no resources were involved in setting up this forum, the ethnic community's access to the Council and the influence which it would consequently have were sufficient to raise the antagonism of the indigenous community. The appeal on behalf of the 'wider community' had diminishing success during the 1980s. That is, it was now perceived that there were two or more 'communities' in the Borough, rather than one.

It is evident that the Council sought in this process the middle-way, for its leading party wished to

attract voters on all sides. Yet the issues raised in the Borough by the ethnic community cannot be separated from developments which take place in Britain as a whole. That is, ethnic minorities across Britain exert pressure on local authorities regardless of the particular political constellation in each local authority. This pressure is closely related to actions taken by the government. The State has taken upon itself to defend collective as well as individual rights via its legislation and institutions and, by doing so, has assisted the emergence of internal leadership, such as the one that has emerged in Harrow.

This internal leadership is well aware that all the three major political parties wish to have Asians on their candidates' list for local as well as general elections. They are conscious that their ethnicity confers on them a marginal advantage, but they also recognize that, ultimately, their political career is much more dependent on the support that they can draw from the entire population. They may well be elected to the Council on an 'Asian ticket', but this electoral support is insufficient for election to Parliament[1].

Having Gujarati members in Parliament is something which is considered by virtually all Gujaratis as an important achievement, and Gujarati activists closely follow the progress of all non-white candidates both in local and general elections. Hence "New Life" (for example, 2 May 1986) monitors all 'ethnic' candidates for local elections. The number of Gujaratis in most

constituencies, however, is too small to guarantee the election of Gujarati candidates. A Gujarati Labour candidate for Brent North (for the elections due in 1988), Praful Patel, declared at the beginning of his campaign that:

> I am seeking a parliamentary seat in the next General Elections in Britain, and I look forward to having a full public life. In the public domain I also intend to battle on for justice for all the dispossessed Uganda Asians who seek compensation from Uganda... I am impelled to seek a parliamentary seat by my concern for the interests of the ethnic minorities in Britain. It is about time that the voice of the ethnic minorities is heard in Parliament through the mouth of their own representatives (in a letter of 25 January 1985).

A few months later Praful Patel confided that he no longer wished to be associated with the issues that he had pointed out in this letter. The Gujarati community, he said, was too divided to stand behind one candidate.

Zerbanoo Gifford, the Liberal candidate for Harrow West (for the elections due in 1988), has also been aware that Asian members of her own political party objected to her election. This objection results from a situation where Asian candidates are not selected or elected (depending on the political party) solely by merit of their qualifications[2]. Once Zerbanoo Gifford became a candidate for Parliament, other Asian Liberals had less chance to be elected as Parliamentary candidates of this party.

It now becomes apparent that the policies of Harrow Council do not have a substantial influence on the emergence and maintenance of ethnic distinctions. The negotiations with the Council encourage the emergence of

semi-internal leadership, of people who wish to launch a political career. Such leaders, however, cannot build a political career on the basis of Asian support only. They do not therefore have a lasting interest to see their respective communities united. At a certain stage of their career they might even need to dissociate themselves completely from their ethnic community. Whether they will resume a role of representatives on behalf of ethnic minorities when they are elected to Parliament can only be left to speculation. Naturally, only a small number of activists embark on a full-scale political career. Most of them are active within the kind of associations with which this chapter is concerned, and find gratification from accumulating status within their own respective communities.

5.3 The Making of Ethnic Distinctions - The Case of Religion

Religion is discussed in this chapter both as a mode of organisation and as an ethnic distinction on the basis of which demands may be made. In this chapter the greatest emphasis is on ethnic boundaries, a term which stands for the distinctiveness of the group (Cohen, 1974), mainly with respect to its organisation (Barth, 1969). What makes the boundaries 'ethnic' are the characteristics mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and it is the organisation of the group which maintains them.

Social groups can rely on religious distinctions to create ethnic-cum-religious minorities. Indeed,

religion has been a major force in the formation of ethnic groups (cf. Walzer, 1982). In addition, religion, like other collective symbols and ideologies, may be put to use when it is beneficial to claim, to use Cohen's phrase, that 'our customs are different', i.e when it provides ground for demanding special provisions. In this respect religion may be held as an ideological asset of a group.

Gujaratis do not assert demands based on religion in the manner described in the previous section. As will become evident, religion and ethnic affiliation are not manipulated in the same fashion.

Some of my informants have repeatedly argued that Gujaratis in Britain undergo a process of intensification with regard to religious adherence. Rituals that were not practised in East Africa are now being revived, and new rituals, with which these informants were not previously familiar, are now a common feature of religious observance. In their opinion the success of the Swaminarayan sect, to name one example, in drawing new adherents is indicative of this tendency. It is the Gujaratis' insecurity in Britain, the informants explain, that leads them to what they perceive as religious orthodoxy.

There is further support for their argument. Carey's study (1983) on the link between the Hare Krishna movement in Britain (called International Society for Krishna Consciousness; hence ISKCON) and 'original' Hindus in Britain suggests that the establishment of the temple

in Watford, near Harrow, by ISKCON, coincided with the arrival of Gujaratis in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In fact, Hindus (mostly Gujaratis) were not only content to use this temple, but were also willing to be taught Hinduism by western converts to Hinduism. By 1979, ISKCON set up a special department, the Indian Community Affairs Programme, for educational purposes and for organizing religious meetings (satsang). It also established youth clubs in Harrow, Wembley, Southall and other places with substantial Asian population.

Satsang meetings are also held in the building purchased by the Navnat Vanik Association and in one community centre in Harrow which runs a mother and toddler group as well as other activities. This activity should indeed be interpreted in the context of other activities that take place in this community centre, but first, in order to highlight some aspects that relate to religious adherence, I would like to describe a case of religious intensification, where religious adherence became an instrument for the maintenance of a group and its interests.

Cohen (1969) demonstrates that a certain Yoruba tribe, the Hausa, created a distinct identity, claiming that its customs were different. It had a vested interest in maintaining the monopoly on trade of kola nuts and cattle, a monopoly which - at the time - could have been jeopardized. The colonial power which ruled Nigeria up to 1950 had legitimized the Hausa's distinctiveness. Constitutional reforms followed independence and the administration was re-organized.

The tribe's distinctiveness, as a result, was no longer recognized.

In search of a substitute power base that would ensure its monopoly, the Hausa first turned to party politics. Its numerical power was too insignificant and there was a danger that if it mixed with other Yoruba tribes it would lose its trade monopoly. Within the course of two years the vast majority of the Hausa joined the Tijaniyya order, and soon a number of fundamental changes in their organisation of ritual took place. Cohen found that the affiliation of the Hausa to this particular Muslim order was subservient to an economic goal. Despite the protests of other Muslims, the Hausa were able to cling to the new organisation, and used it to exclude all non-Hausa members. It had thus redefined itself in order to preserve its monopoly.

It should be made clear that Cohen does not establish that organisation on religious lines is simply an instrument for creating ethnic distinctions, nor that an economic goal always lies behind these interests. Rather, he intended to show the process by which a group selects an ideology and transforms it into a source of power. Deshen (1974), who observed a somewhat similar process of intensification among Tunisian Jews in Israel, came to the conclusion that political aspects of ethnicity should be separated from its cultural manifestations. Or, rather, not all ethnic manifestations, such as were expressed in the religious celebrations of Tunisian Jews, were used for promoting political ends.

Epstein, as mentioned earlier in the thesis, disagrees with the proposition that interest plays a major role either in the formation or in the maintenance of ethnic identity, and he rightly observes that built into this view of ethnicity is the assumption that ethnic behaviour is guided by rational calculation. His main critique, however, is that:

> if interest serves as the chief determinant of behaviour, ethnic affiliation should take precedence over the bonds of class, as it frequently does (1979:94).

Tambs-Lyche (1980) agrees with Epstein on the subject of interest, but his study of London Patidars led him to the conclusion that Patidars were not members of a class. He thus explains that they belong to the encompassed, rather than to the encompassing (that is, the host) society. Furthermore, the rules which govern their economic and social activities are different from those employed by members of the host society. Patidars as well as other Gujaratis, it was observed, do not see themselves as members of a British class, and this is in turn reflected in their relationships both with Gujaratis and indigenous Britons respectively. The term 'bonds of class', used in the quotation above, should therefore be carefully used in this context.

Epstein's assertion, in addition, cannot explain, for example, why Gujaratis in Norway do not ascribe themselves on caste lines, but do so in Britain. In other words, it does not explain why Gujaratis do not utilize in each new country the same cultural traits. In Norway, apparently, caste plays a minor role in the organisation of the Gujarati population (Tambs-Lyche, 1980). Gujaratis stress that they are refugees (the majority of them were expelled from Uganda) to convey the message that they are different from foreign workers who are

disliked. These identifications are clearly a response to the situation they confronted in Norway, and cannot be viewed as a staple response which is enacted whenever Gujaratis migrate to a new country. Rather, their response corresponds to the situation they confront and to the interests which evolve as a result.

Cohen observes that the efforts to preserve a collective identity are often opposed to personal interests. Indeed, groups might fail to sustain their ethnic identity because of personal interests:

> People are usually so preoccupied with their private interests that they do not always see the common interest on which they depend. This problem is further complicated by the fact that the maintenance of the autonomy of the group often requires the organization of functions such as communication, co-ordination, and decision-making, which cannot be left to the private consideration of the individual (1969:23).

In Harrow none of the ethnic minorities has a commercial monopoly which it seeks to sustain, nor does any of them wish to acquire one specific monopoly. Personal interests, rather than collective ones, assume greater importance. While being "preoccupied with their private interests", Gujaratis facilitate their contacts for the benefit of economic success, as much as they facilitate their contacts to promote, for instance, their religious organisation. In the case of the Swaminarayan movement in Britain, various fund-raising strategies have been devised. Each visit of its current leader, Pramukh Swami, is designed to boost the membership and raise money, mainly for the purpose of building new temples (cf. Williams, 1984).

Considering the evidence earlier presented and Cohen's assertions, it is not possible to argue that the Gujaratis have shifted the emphasis of their organisation towards religion, despite the fact that a growing amount of resources are being invested in establishing places of worship, organizing religious festivals and other activities that may be classified under the rubric of religion.

First, this proliferation is parallel to that in other fields, such as education, and its occurrence is due partly to the fact that Gujaratis have only recently been able to pull resources together; it does not replace other activities. Though building places of worship in Harrow is now one of the main priorities on the agendas of both Jain and Swaminarayan associations, this - again, should not be viewed as a sign of intensification. Temples were built throughout the 1970s and, probably, this process will reach saturation when all major areas of Gujarati settlement have their own places of worship. This process is slow. Gujaratis not only have to raise resources on a large scale but they have to receive permission from local authorities to allocate land on which these temples can be built. Once this permission is granted, they have to convince worried local residents that the temple will not cause any additional noise or parking problems (cf. "Harrow Observer", 9 May 1986).

Second, according to my own observations, religious orthodoxy is found mostly amongst the elderly. Hence, most of participants in the community centre's satsang

are elderly women. In the Navnat Vanik Association's centre, elderly men too participate. Like the remainder of activities organized in these centres, satsang have a social and recreational function. In relation to East African Sikhs, Bhachu (1985) mentions a "huge" [sic] number of satsangs run by women.

Elderly Gujaratis have the time to be engaged in rituals and are encouraged by the young to maintain a role of 'agents of tradition'. This is partly because they facilitate contacts with India, in various ways: they are the ones who are more likely to have close relatives there, and the only ones who may aspire to return to India. Those who intend to stay in Britain often travel to India and provide a vital link between Gujaratis of the two countries.

Another vital aspect related to religious adherence of ethnic minorities should be mentioned. Ethnic minorities in Britain do not claim financial assistance on religious grounds, for religion provides only a limited basis upon which resources can be claimed. Zoroastrians, for example, after establishing in 1985 an association of 200 members, appealed to Harrow Council to apply on their behalf for an Urban Aid grant. However, this association could not have asked for a grant on the pretext that it needed premises for worship.

So far, neither the Muslim nor Hindu communities, despite their substantial numbers, have managed to obtain State funding for their schools. The last few years have witnessed growing pressure on educational authorities to

assist such schools, but as yet the Department of Education has not made any concessions (cf. "New Statesman", 22 August 1985). The Swann report (1985b) asserted that religious education in Britain should be based on a "non-denominational and undogmatic approach" and that the establishment of separate schools should not be encouraged. It mentions, however, that both the government and Local Education Authorities will consider the request of Muslims to establish single-sex schools.

It now becomes apparent that religion cannot be manipulated in the same fashion as ethnicity: that which is defined by language, a country of origin, or a combination of both. That is, the State has succeeded to divorce ethnic identity from religious affiliation, although the two mostly do overlap, i.e the majority of each Asian minority adhere to one religion (the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, however, are both adherents of Islam). This is particularly evident in incidents where religious associations argue that they are being racially discriminated against, e.g when local authorities refuse permission for the setting up of worship places ("The Guardian", 24 August 1985). Despite the fact that these associations claim to represent religious, rather than ethnic , groups, they resort to claiming discrimination on racial ground , for otherwise they would be unable to force the authorities to comply with their requests. Similarly, when a Sikh father brought to court a headmaster who had refused to accept his turban wearing son, he was told that there was no provision in the law against religious

discrimination. Finally, when the case was brought to the Appeal Court, Lord Denning ruled that the son was being discriminated against[3].

The Race Relations Act 1976 does not make provisions for religious discrimination. A racial group is defined in this Act as "a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins". The Act's new concept, as Anwar mentions, was to include religion under the rubric of 'indirect discrimination' but it remains to be seen how 'direct' and 'indirect' discrimination will be interpreted by judicial agencies (Anwar, 1982). Religious discrimination is also covered by Article 41 of the European Convention of Human Rights. This Article applies to all states which signed the convention, including Britain, demanding that they secure various rights and freedoms without discrimination on religious and other grounds.

An individual's religious beliefs are regarded in Britain as a private affair that should be fully respected, though the extent to which this principle is followed is not always clear. In addition, adherence to any religion is not - allegedly - contradictory to a person's 'Britishness'. The following example illustrates this point.

In an inauguration of a Swaminarayan temple, a representative of the Conservative party emphasized that Britain had a long history of religious tolerance. The representative, David Waddington, then a Home Office Minister, added that there was no contradiction between

"people maintaining their own religious and cultural traditions and being, at the same time, British in the fullest sense" ("New Life", 9 September 1983). However, when the Gujarati speaker addressed the Minister, he drew his attention to the plight of Indians holding British passports, who had to wait several years in India before obtaining special vouchers that allowed them to take up residence in Britain. The speaker, who was the chairperson of the Anglo-Indian Conservative Society, made the link between ethnic and religious affiliation. He also tried to use the opportunity to influence David Waddington. The Minister was soon to leave for the Indian subcontinent to examine the bureaucratic procedures that were involved in the administration of these vouchers. If the concern of Gujaratis for spiritual values was, as Waddington said, beneficial to the whole community, then he could be expected to act on behalf of Gujaratis and other Asians who had to queue for their entrance into Britain. This was the message which the speaker tried to deliver.

The Gujaratis, then, do not themselves separate ethnic from religious affiliation. Yet on confronting discrimination, only one avenue is open to them. They have to claim that they are racially, and not 'religiously' discriminated against.

British Muslims have probably been the most vociferous minority with regard to religion-related demands, such as provisions for children, dietary or others. They have, for example, exerted pressure on Brent Education Authority to obtain financial help for the

running of one of their schools. If they succeed, this case will become a major precedent.

Most Gujaratis, however, are not of the opinion that their children should attend Gujarati schools, apart from those which operate on Saturdays. They wish to conform to white norms and modes of behaviour, an approach similar to that of Punjabis ('we should be better than the goras'), rather than practise their religion in a way that could jeopardize their economic success by separating succeeding generations from main-stream education.

The following observation supports this assertion. I once met a Swaminarayan who visited Britain; he was working in a cash and carry shop to finance his journey. When I saw him he was engaged in the morning puja, and put the mark of the sect on his forehead (the sectarian mark of the Swaminarayans is generally affixed as a part of morning worship). However, he rubbed off this mark upon going to work, since he thought that it made him too conspicuous. Indeed, Gujaratis tend to keep this mark in shops where most clients are Asian, but not otherwise (this applies to Gujarati males only. It is common amongst women to wear bindi on their foreheads).

The inability to make claims on religious ground does not prevent Harrow Gujaratis, as well as other ethnic minorities, from pursuing every possible channel to gain for their religions the same status that Christianity enjoys.

In addition, the avenue to religious intensification is still open to them, and I do not totally discard the signs to which my informants pointed. Gujaratis do not

have to look far for models of religious orthodoxy, since the elders are generally viewed as orthodox, and may provide guidance, if this is sought. It is also possible that a new type of orthodoxy will emerge. I merely emphasize that Gujaratis are unlikely to do so, since they actively seek cultural-cum-ideological traits that would assist them in enhancing their position within British society.

To summarize, ethnic distinctions secure different kinds of benefits. The aggregation of Gujaratis in associations, however, constitutes a political instrument that leads to the assertion of demands which are not directly concerned with the associations' initial brief. At times Gujaratis are forced to spell out their claims in terms which they have not themselves chosen. At others, however, they exploit certain political situations for their own benefit. Whether or not these distinctions are initially defined on 'traditional' lines, i.e associated with the country of origin, they may - at any point in time - be temporarily redefined. As was demonstrated in the last section, Pakistani women in Harrow identify themselves as a Muslim minority which includes non-Pakistani women, presumably asserting that religion came before national background.

One particular event, the 1985 India Festival which took place in Alexandra Palace, illustrates that religious sentiments provide symbols of unity, rather than creating divisions on sectarian lines. The authority of the organizers, that is, the Swaminarayan movement, was

legitimized, as the whole Gujarati (and perhaps also non-Gujarati Hindu) population welcomed the event. Its spiritual leader, Pramukh Swami, who was flown to Britain to inaugurate the event, was welcomed by Swaminarayans and non-Swaminarayans alike. The fact that the subject of the major exhibition was a Hindu epic, rather than, for example, the history of the Swaminarayan sect (such an exhibition is displayed in their centre, Gundal, Saurashtra), further suggests that Swaminarayans counted on the participation of all Hindus and that both ideology and socialisation were matters of concern to the organizers of this event. The vivid display of the epic was attractive to children and adults alike. Indian food, prepared by the Swami's followers, was supplied to the thousands of visitors who came to the exhibition. This event had an intrinsic value in that it generated a sense of unity and pride amongst participants otherwise divided. A number of informants indicated that it was also a 'good public relations exercise'. That is, this display was also intended to project and promote a positive image of Indian people (as the name of the event suggests) in Britain.

The following section further explores the meanings and functions of such events, that is, social gatherings and events that are not 'target-orientated' and serve no immediate tangible purpose.

5.4 Efficiency and the Maintenance of Ethnic Boundaries

Cohen distinguishes between formal and informal organisation, the major instruments for the maintenance of ethnic groups. Formal groups are those who have the skills to organize themselves on bureaucratic lines, while informal ones mobilize communal relationships. While the difference between formal and informal organisation is a matter of degree (cf. Cohen, 1974), informal organisation is regarded as 'wasteful' and ineffective. Cohen describes the operation of an ineffective organisation as the following:

> ...instead of organizing an official meeting for the members of the group to discuss some current problems, the informal group will attend a ceremonial during which these problems are only informally and unsystematically discussed amidst a great deal of what are, for the aims of the group, irrelevant symbolic activities, though these activities may at the same time, satisfy some important personality needs (1974a:17).

This description raises another nuance in Cohen's analysis of the Hausa. Their preoccupation with such 'symbolic activities' required daily observance that was time consuming. On the other hand, their particular style of ritual could have been the most efficient as no other avenue, e.g political activity, was open to them.

Cohen's emphasis on the utilitarian nature of formal organisation seems inappropriate in view of the nature of ethnic voluntary organisation. Even in the case of a highly cohesive group, with a well established economic organisation, religious ceremonies play a vital role.

Social links are easily transformed, on such occasions, into economic relationships. Gaynor Cohen claims, when discussing the cohesive organisation of Ismailis, that a "re-emphasis of Ismaili and cultural practices" (1984-85: 93) is followed by collaboration in the economic sphere. Symbolic and ritual behaviour is therefore highly relevant, for a different, that is, economic, sphere of interaction. Gaynor Cohen's assertion is equally applicable to the case of Gujaratis, as many social occasions, as the following section demonstrates, are used to creating and solidifying economic relationships.

Ethnic groups rarely organize themselves for the purpose of achieving one aim via one channel, or rely solely on formal organisation. Only seldom do they have one organisation which is equally accepted by all members of the group. Therefore, all organisations deserve, by Cohen's criteria, to be called inefficient. More often than not there is a multiplicity of organisations, and only some presume to be the sole caterers of one particular need. In reality, whether an association concerns itself with caste, religion, or even education, there is a high probability that other, similar, organisations have already been founded. Yet what may seem as duplicate administrations might not be so in reality. Names of associations do not normally suggest their real target population. They often suggest larger populations than they are actually meant to cater for. A name such as Harrow Women's Association does not disclose the fact that the majority of the women involved are Ugandan Asians.

Whether other women were meant to participate is altogether another matter (Harrow Women's Association, in fact, attempted to draw in non-Asian members). The Pakistan Women's Association have members who do not come from Pakistan and has a larger pull of members than its name reveals (non-Muslims are not accepted).

I do not argue that duplication does not exist; rather, that duplication is inevitable and that it is subservient to social and political circumstances. No two associations are established at the same time, by the same people and for the same purposes. Hence, duplication - in circumstances where both human and financial resources are scarce - is unlikely to endure. Perhaps it ought to be said that effectiveness appears to compensate for inefficiency.

Barth's comment on this issue makes clear that:

> By concentrating on what is socially effective, ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organisation... although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationships between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard significant (1972:13-14).

Thus, whether two or more groups share some patterns of normative behaviour (cf. Cohen, 1969:ix) is immaterial to the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. And, since there are no simple 'one-to-one relationships between ethnic units and cultural similarities', the proliferation of a multitude of voluntary associations is rather expected. Barth is less disturbed by the vehicles through which actors ascribe themselves to a particular ethnic group.

The relevant fact is that they organize themselves upon what they perceive to be 'cultural differences'.

Coming back to the issue of symbolic and ritual activities, it appears that the absence of acknowledgement of their 'true' purposes should not present a theoretical obstacle. The fact remains that they serve certain purposes which do not only satisfy personal needs. Ceremonials are effective instruments of social control. In weddings, for example, people display their riches and exchange information about their caste members. Gujarati people are aware how difficult it is to keep such information a secret, and are selective with regard to the information they disclose. They also realize that such information can soon reach their relatives in India, and are particularly wary that they lose control over information that may portray them in an unfavourable light.

It would be interesting to note, finally, that Gujaratis themselves often remark on their own communal structure, suggesting that the sheer number of associations entail inefficiency and prevents the establishment of an organisation equally recognized by all the various factions. However, the fact that the number of associations continually changes, as well as their briefs and organisational strategies, suggests that they are not rigid entities; rather, this situation indicates that the Gujarati population is highly sensitive to the multitude of changing circumstances it faces. The dissatisfaction which Gujaratis express show that they do not conceive their social organisation as one which

appropriately reflect their collective identity as Gujaratis.

The symbols of unity, such that religion provide, probably derive their power from their association to a sphere that is extraneous to the immediate economic and political concerns and interests. People meeting on occasions of religious celebration thus acknowledge that there is a bond which links them, and from there they proceed to making new ties.

This evidence illustrates the making of an ethnic identity as a dynamic process where symbols of unity are created alongside communal organisation that articulates them, in an attempt to mobilize people of Gujarati origin.

The following part further explores the associative organisation of Gujaratis and highlights some aspects of this dynamic process where, alongside a tendency to unite and create alliances between various sections of the community, there are circumstances that demarcate divisions within the Gujarati population.

5.5 Caste and Caste Associations

Familial ties play a vital role in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries as they mediate between communal relationships and the organisational structure of Gujaratis in Britain. This section examines the relevance of familial ties to the caste structure and also explores the various tasks that caste associations in Britain assume, and their role within the over-all structure of Gujarati associations.

The significance of kinship ties is well reflected in the way Gujaratis construct their leisure time (cf. Desai, 1963). During week-ends it was almost impossible to meet my informants or even be in their company and participate in their activities (cf. CRC, 1976). This time was devoted solely to family gatherings. While Saturdays were mostly reserved for shopping, where only members of one household were expected to join, Sundays were devoted to kin gatherings of various types. Engagements, weddings and other celebrations took place on Sundays and so did visits to the temple.

In Gujarat the Brahmin tells the most auspicious time for conducting marriage ceremonies, and these can fall at any day of the week. Nowadays, these ceremonies have been compressed into shorter affairs, and elders comment that this is 'a result of modern times'. In Britain, another step of adjustment has been made, and engagements or weddings are celebrated on Sundays so as to allow many guests to attend. Some informants in Harrow commented that these were the only occasions when they met relatives who lived outside London. Relatives who live in or near London are met more often. Hence the social life of caste members, i.e members of the same families and social networks, is much more intensive than the number of events organized by their caste association suggests.

Women recounted that they cooked extra food during week-ends, 'in case' kin and close friends decided to visit without notice. Apparently, this pattern does

not exclude families where one spouse is non-Gujarati. A woman married to a white British man explains:

> I try to recreate the 'extended family' that is so much part of a Gujarati patidar's life by emphasizing certain needs of my friends and have an 'open house' atmosphere which I value so much about the Indian families and friends. I cook Indian food amongst other food and anyone present at the time of dinner shares the food (Writing by Asian Women, 1984:87).

Only family events such as children's birthdays provide opportunities for meeting non-Gujaratis at home, as small children are often accompanied by their parents. Relatives are invited and mothers who normally do not wear a sari would put on an elegant sari for the occasion.

Whether Gujaratis meet non-Gujaratis or engage in social activities outside their community is dictated solely by their commitment to their families and close friends. In their own gatherings Gujarati is mostly spoken. Both kin and friends are either East African or Indian Gujaratis. Many Gujaratis, however, speak Hindi, and some speak Punjabi. One informant who spoke these languages had Punjabi as well as Indian friends who had migrated from Delhi. This indicates that though the social networks of Gujaratis are composed, by and large, of Gujaratis, many Gujaratis have non-Gujarati, mostly other Asian, friends.

Time in Britain is perceived by Gujaratis as a dear commodity. Conversely, leisure time in East Africa was said to be plentiful (whether this was really so, or whether the East African past is now being idealized is another matter) and allowed for more social gatherings.

Thus, rather than deliberately rejecting the idea of interacting with non-Gujaratis, the preferences of Gujaratis, combined with the constraints of time, induce them to remain within networks where they regularly meet mostly Gujaratis who live in close proximity.

This, in turn, is consistent with the fact that Gujaratis prefer to reside in areas where other Gujaratis live (Desai, 1963; Hahlo, 1980; Shaw, 1982). Only a minority of Gujaratis, as I have shown in previous chapters, came to live in Harrow without already having relatives in north London.

Kinship ties are mostly confined to the same caste, and this helps to explain the fact that Gujarati communities do not represent a cross-section of castes, but rather a concentration of one caste or another. Geographical areas where Gujaratis reside are known to have 'pockets' of the three largest castes, the Lohanas, Patidars and the Oshwals. These three castes account for about 80 per cent of the Hindu Gujarati population (Michaelson, 1979). Most Lohanas in Britain, for example, reside in north London. Gujaratis would make such comments as 'Harrow is a predominantly Oshwal and Lohana area; many Patels live in Brent but Kutchi Patels tend to live in Hendon'. Hence they are well aware that some geographical areas are more popular than others amongst their caste members.

Before exploring the significance of caste amongst Gujaratis in Britain it is necessary to distinguish the various terms used in similar academic discourse. This

is because, as Mayer (1967) pointed out, the term "caste" has been given different sociological referents by various authors.

5.5.1 Caste in East Africa and in Britain

The notion of varna, the fourfold division of society of classical Hinduism, divides into brahmins (priests), kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), vaishyas (traders) and sudras (menials). It has no direct connection to the division into castes, i.e jatis. Each jati places itself on the varna hierarchy and thus people in India are able to discern each other's social ranking in all-India terms (cf. Barot, 1974; Mayer, 1967). Yet varna does not have any ramifications as far as the functions of a jati in any specific locality are concerned; the rules of endogamy, commensality and occupation apply to jatis rather than to varnas. In Gujarat, such jatis as Dhobis (washermen) or Sutars (carpenters) have traditionally married within their own occupational group and avoided eating with lower jatis (Bharati, 1972).

Morris, who studied the Indian community in Uganda, distinguished not only between varna (which he terms 'caste') and jati (which he terms 'subcaste'), but also between jati as a subcaste category and as subcaste group:

> A subcaste category consists of people who have the same jati name, but who live in different local hierarchies. In traditional circumstances they did not as a rule form an interacting social group but were merely people who had ancestral or other not very well defined connections with one another (1967:271).

People of the same jati name may live in different geographical areas because, as Pocock (1972) indicates, people are subject to economic pressures and are obliged to drift away to new areas, and sometimes to new occupations and status.

The case of the Patidar caste, as Pocock shows, is a good illustration of this:

> In India there are extremely wealthy and highly educated Patidars living in the countryside in the natal villages and in the cities of Gujarat, to say nothing of the large communities of emigrants of different parts of the world. There are also illiterate Patidar entirely dependent for their living upon labouring for others. These extremes can be found in one and the same descent group, in one and the same village, and between them every grade of economic condition be found (Pocock 1972:1).

In the introduction to the various reports on castes in overseas Indian communities, Mayer suggests that migration led to a total erosion of occupational specialisation and notions of ritual purity:

> immigrants came from many different localities of India and were unable to reform small-scale organization on which caste-group and subcaste-group behaviour had been based... nor could there be agreement on who had the authority to control behaviour, since caste and subcaste leaders and councils had in India been recognized only by those in the same locality (1967:3).

Morris too points out that immigrants failed to transplant any representative cross-section of their home society upon migration to East Africa, and that:

> the immigrants themselves also came with the intention of being only traders in a society subject to laws and economic customs which were in conflict with Hindu and Muslim rules and regulations (1967:272).

Morris does recount, however, the emergence of caste associations, and the background which facilitated this process. Favours from the colonial government were mediated at the time (before 1962) by Asian brokers who were able to negotiate and had access to the Administration. Once a section of the Asian population obtained preferential treatment, other sections sought similar ways of approaching those civil servants who could grant favours. Caste associations were established against this background and their memberships were known either as 'castes' or 'communities'. The following is Morris' own definition of caste association:

> a modern voluntary association recruited either from a subcaste group (jati), a subcaste category (jati), or even in a few instances from a varna (caste) category for welfare or political ends. In East Africa such bodies, which seldom include all members of the group or category settled in Africa or even in one territory, are known as castes or community associations or communities (1967:271).

Both Kuper (1967) and Benedict (1967) pointed out that migrant populations (from the Indian subcontinent) of the same linguistic-cultural background were endogamous units. Yet both observed that inter-caste marriages did take place. The fact that migration resulted in the redefinition of a hierarchical or any other order of castes, or in growing prevalence of inter-caste marriages does not necessarily undermine the significance of either caste or caste associations. In any case, our interest is in the current organisational infrastructure of the Gujarati community and not in the extent to which this infrastructure corresponds to the caste system in Gujarat.

The definition above shows that none of the traditional divisions of castes fully corresponds to the new structure that emerged in East Africa. Caste associations were only vaguely related to caste divisions such as prevailed in Gujarat. These relationships only reaffirm the existence of caste associations and perhaps of castes as modern social units.

This vagueness, apparently, is not confined to overseas communities. As Desai once pointed out in relation to castes' mobility in Gujarat in the beginning of the century:

> viewed at a given moment, caste seemed fixed and immutable, but great changes have taken place in the past and are still going on (1911:244).

With regard to the Patidars, who are the largest Gujarati caste in Britain, Hardiman shows that its endogamous units - called gols - were in fact formed in Gujarat as late as the mid-nineteenth century and that these gols "were constantly expanding and changing" (1981:41). Prior to the formation of gols Patidars tended to marry amongst themselves but were not an endogamous caste. Hardiman adds that community rules about interdining and ritual purity were (before the formation of gols) "extremely lax" [sic]. Hence, caste constituted a dynamic social system, regardless of the process of migration.

It is only expected, therefore, that migration would create a sort of ambivalence which would allow some people to move, more often upwardly, to other castes. This applies to other Asian minorities, e.g Pakistanis (cf. Werbner, 1984). As the case of Pakistanis in

Manchester demonstrates, people wishing to place new acquaintances according to traditional hierarchies seek more details about them from sources other than the people concerned. This would not have occurred if people were easily identified.

In relation to Gujaratis, one informant, an engineer by profession, was actively involved in the Oshwal association. He once confided that he was not 'really' an Oshwal and added that this fact did not in any way put him at a disadvantage. The Oshwals, it seemed, enjoyed his contribution, though whether or not his background would have affected the marriage prospects of his daughters within the Oshwal community is difficult to say.

This particular case, however, is rather an exception. Presumably, the fact that this man came directly from India, combined with his occupational status, assisted his acceptance within a predominantly East African community. East African informants commented that they were familiar with 'all' their caste members in their respective countries in East Africa. That is, if they were not themselves familiar with a particular family, they were certainly acquainted with other caste members from that family's neighbourhood in East Africa. Only few people, they concluded, could pretend to belong to a higher caste. They also mentioned that, upon meeting a Gujarati, they would ask for his or her biographical details, mainly place of origin in Gujarat (for the specific 'introductory' questions, see Barot, 1974). In Harrow people pointed out that it was not polite to enquire

about one's caste but that they could infer it from one's place of origin in Gujarat (cf. Tambs-Lyche, 1980:289). This information is then disseminated amongst their own relatives and friends. The existence of such channels of information is designed to ensure that only a few people would be left without an affiliation to caste.

When I returned from Gujarat, I noticed that informants knew in detail the biographies of people whom they had never met or met briefly. The accounts and probably the conclusion of the informants above was thus reaffirmed. That is, regardless of an affiliation to caste association, each Gujarati belonged to a particular caste. This is an important point to establish, as not all Gujaratis are registered with caste associations.

In Britain today, as Michaelson (1979) indicates, all castes have associations organised nationally. The Patidars have a nationally organized association but each of the various Patidar village circles, i.e gols, established its own association. In addition to gols associations, such as Bavis Gam Samaj and Shree Gam Patidar Samaj, there are associations of each village of these gols. Each one of the villages of the most prestigious gols, which counts six villages, has its own association, for example, Karamsad Samaj, and Bhadran Mitra Mandal. Traditional occupations, Michaelson observed, are no longer prevalent yet Gujaratis regard them as their dharma, that is, their vocation in this life. "Even the young", she says, "who might otherwise scorn traditional religious injunctions, believe without question that a person is born

with inherited, innate talents for a particular occupation" (1979:352).

Whether or not youngsters believe in occupation as dharma, there is little in the organisation of castes that suggests that. Upwardly mobile Gujaratis, it was noticed, are more likely to make comments about their caste of origin and its connection with a particular occupation, precisely because they feel that it does not bind them in any way. They may even take pride in their low caste, indirectly suggesting that their success is entirely their own. Gujaratis acknowledge, however, that one is born to a caste and under no circumstances can this change.

This admission bears on the organisation of caste associations. That is, only one born into a certain caste can become a member of its association. When an association's member marries outside the caste, the spouse cannot become a full member of that association. A spouse can participate though in all the association's functions but cannot hold office. Informants reiterated that these rules were found to be satisfactory.

First, they said, caste was no longer associated with a hierarchical status and therefore those who are not full members do not feel discriminated against. They can join their own caste association if they so wish. Second, these rules allow people to participate in any functions of caste associations other than their own. The Oshwals, for example, introduced a status of associate members and thus institutionalized the participation of people from other castes, but not all castes have followed suit.

In short, the picture that emerges is that of symmetric relationships between caste associations, as the regulation of inclusion and exclusion are more or less similar.

I shall later return to the issue of hierarchy and its reflection in the organisation of caste associations. Meanwhile, another comment should be made on the subject of occupation.

Rather than addressing themselves to one particular occupation, members of the same profession belonging to one caste association hold functions of their own which are fostered by their association. The Lohanas, for example, have set up groups, e.g of chemists, who hold their own gatherings a few times a year. Other such groups have established their own associations. They hold dinners and invite speakers from their own or other castes.

The traditional occupation, in addition, does not hinder the development of a new occupational identity, particularly in the case of Patidars. The Patidars have traditionally been farmers, and virtually all Patidars can name the villages from which their forefathers came. This has not prevented a 'merchant ideology' from emerging (cf. Tambs-Lyche, 1982) as if Patidars had always been traders.

A quotation from a publication of the National Association of Patidar Samaj (NAPS) illustrates this point:

> PATEL /sic/ is a household name in Britain. The Patels are found in many spheres of life but their forte is business and they excel in entrepreneurship and sheer hard work which are the hallmarks of a commercial community. The Patels are the new shop-keepers of Britain and indeed they have become a thriving business community (The National Association of the Patidar Samaj, 1985:11).

Finally, Michaelson's remark on the role of dharma is useful to our discussion as it highlights the fact that caste associations have ideological resources which in turn combine both old and new notions of a caste's identity. Endogamy constitutes a very important part of this ideology and its importance has increased as a result of the virtual disappearance both of occupation as a caste identifier and of the practice of commensality. The following section further explores the attitudes towards marriage and thus complements observations on this subject which were made in the last chapter.

5.5.2 Marriage and the Continuation of Caste Associations

One major concern of Gujaratis in Britain has been caste-intermarriage and the following paragraphs explore the means by which they have responded to a situation that seems to jeopardize what has traditionally been one of the main attributes of the caste system.

When Lyon conducted his study, in the early 1970s, he observed that:

> Though barriers to social intercourse between adjacent sub-castes have been greatly weakened, pressures for caste-members to make proper and advantageous marriages remain strong. British Gujaratis prefer to obtain a bride from one of the prestigeful villages in the marriage-circles at home, and to the extent that this prestige-system has no substitute in Britain the hierarchical character of marriage-choice is preserved (1972-73:10).

In the Patidars' case, immediate preference is therefore given to marriage circles (Pocock, 1972). Other Gujaratis too marry spouses from their respective castes. Some

informants have argued that inter-caste marriages are numerous, while others have pointed to the opposite direction, explaining that now that there are more candidates for marriage within each caste, the number of inter-caste marriages is declining. By the same token, some matrimonial advertisements in Gujarati newspapers state the caste of the potential spouse, while others state that there are no "caste bars". Whether or not the latter advertisements represent a genuine statement on behalf of the advertisers, this observation lends support to the argument that ideological changes are continually being made. Accordingly, some informants were probably sincere when stating that they wished their children to marry 'out of love', regardless of caste. Their statements indicate that there is a growing tolerance towards inter-caste and also towards 'love' marriages. The two trends coexist as parents now realize that it is becoming increasingly difficult to force arranged marriages on their children.

Parents reason that by being more tolerant they will not provoke the antagonism of their children. At the same time, they cherish the hope that their children will not marry out of the caste. Each of the large caste associations has a youth wing, where various functions and courses are organized for the young. Caste associations also have several committees which are concerned with related issues such as education, or, alternatively, with marriage and divorce. In other words, the socialisation into the caste, by the caste association, is not confined to youth of marriageable age. It begins with provisions for children, and does not end with marriage. As one

member of a caste association put it to me:

> We register all the marriages of our caste members and we follow them through. I can tell you that these marriages, mostly arranged (it of course depends on what you see as an arranged marriage), are quite successful. And, when people do divorce, we try to ensure that they remarry.

This member belongs to the Lohana Community of North London, one of the four London branches of the Lohanas, which runs a marriage and reconciliation committee. The Patidars, like the Lohanas and the Oshwals, also allocate resources for education. An ex-chairman of the NAPS once clarified the position of Patidars over this issue:

> In the field of education and culture we have to see that our new generation does not lose its moorings entirely from the Indian Culture and Civilization. If the schools and society cannot provide this, this organisation like ours can certainly provide such programmes round the year (The National Association of Patidar Samaj, 1985:3).

Working towards involving the young generation in the functions of caste associations is a way of guaranteeing their continuation and yet there are other ways in which caste associations seek to retain the loyalty of their members.

Whenever I spoke to people who were assigned to a particular task in a caste association, they always mentioned the number of people belonging to their caste. As Michaelson (1979) indicates, each of the caste associations keeps a list of caste members in Britain and sometimes worldwide. I then had to ask for the number of members of the association, which was always much smaller than the first figure. The answer referred not only to

the total number of people registered with the association, but also to the number of life members.

For a certain fee Gujaratis register with these associations for life. The NAPS, for example, charged in 1985 £35 for life membership, against £4 for annual membership. This ensures that the memberships of caste associations will not decrease below a certain minimum, and is also a source of income. The lists of all caste members may be regarded in turn as a pool from which associations try to draw a maximum number of members. Hence some associations send invitations to ex-members long after the latter have ceased to pay their membership fees.

The majority of those registered with a caste association take part in one or two main social events, one of which is usually around Diwali time, and have to pay an additional price for these events. The social life of the more active members (such as the ones who are assigned to a particular task, e.g secretary) may revolve around the association to the exclusion of all other social activities. One informant, for example, could only see me during day time, in his busy office, since all his evenings were taken up with meetings of the various committees of his caste association.

The services which his association, the Lohanas', provided, ranged from education and sport to matrimonial and various social services. Their versatility is unmatched by other Gujarati associations. According to Breton it appears that caste associations fulfill all the requirements which earn an ethnic category the qualification of an ethnic

group. The criterion which he employed, that of 'institutional completeness', is described as follows:

> Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance (Breton, 1964:194).

Breton was aware that a social group was unlikely to sustain such a degree of autonomy in a modern welfare state, and therefore examined ethnic communities by their relative degree of institutional completeness. These institutions could either be religious, educational, political, recreational or even professional.

In line with the notion of institutional completeness and considering the degree of self sufficiency of caste associations in general, castes first appear to have acquired the same degree of 'completeness' as the Gujarati community as a whole. Yet apart from the fact that the social world of Gujaratis cuts across caste affiliation, caste associations cannot be separated from the intricate structure of Gujarati associations, and therefore cannot be said to be 'institutionally complete'.

Breton pays special attention to the existence of publications, e.g newspapers and newsletters (cf. Walzer, 1980). The following section describes the role of the two main Gujarati publishers to demonstrate the relationships between caste associations. It will thus become apparent that rivalry and competition is an integral part of one communal structure in which caste associations play a dominant

part, and that what may first appear to be a manifestation of 'casteism' is not necessarily so in reality.

5.5.3 Caste Associations - Competition and Co-operation

There are two publishers in Britain who issue weeklies in the Gujarati language. One publisher issues "New Life", in English, and "Gujarat Samachar", its Gujarati equivalent. "Gujarat Samachar" has articles and news translated from "New Life" but is more orientated to Gujarati readership. The other publisher issues "Garvi Gujarat", mainly in Gujarati but also with some news and features in English.

The first publisher is a Patidar and therefore "Gujarat Samachar" has a more comprehensive coverage on Patidars as well as on the specific village and marriage circle to which the owner belongs. "New Life", which advertises itself as 'Britain's Biggest Asian Weekly', addresses itself to the whole Asian population and raises issues that generally concern minorities in Britain.

Caste, as a cause of factionalism, is not often mentioned in these publications and readers ordinarily express disapproval of divisions amongst the Gujarati as well as the Asian population. Both weeklies vehemently advocate the unity of all Asians, regardless of religion, language and place of origin.

The first Gujarati International Conference, which took place in August 1983 is the only occasion in recent years when the rivalry was publicized as one between castes. Its aftermath saw both papers, as well as the "Asian Post" (which no longer exists), accusing each other of dividing the Gujarati community. "Asian Post", which was a bi-weekly

in English, sided with "Garvi Gujarat" and was less inhibited about spelling out the nature of the rivalry. In its editorial "Garvi Gujarat" explained its objection to the conference:

> We are opposed to lack of consultations with individuals and organisations in Gujarat, Britain and the rest of the world. We are opposed to the sponsors not having obtained the confidence of the people and their organisations and institutions. We are opposed to the sponsors isolating certain newspapers so that they can monopolize the seats of power. Garvi Gujarat cannot lend its name to a conference whose sponsors have no mandate from the people in whose name it has been called (translated in "Asian Post", 27 August 1983).

It is quite clear that the paper was opposed to the conference since it was not asked to take part in it. No reason, however, was given for this "lack of consultations", and no mention was made of the fact that the organising secretary of the conference was the rival publisher. The "Asian Post" drew five 'lessons' from what it described as a 'fiasco'. Apart from accusing the organizing secretary of trying to boost its readership, it said:

> It /the conference/ left the Gujaratis divided - Muslim Gujaratis feel isolated, Bhoras feel ignored, Ismailis feel left out, and those from South Gujarat feel the domination of Northern Gujaratis ("Asian Post", 27 August 1983).

"Asian Post" emphasized the absence of non-Hindu participants (most Bhoras are Muslim) possibly because it was owned by a Muslim. It also pointed out, to illustrate this "domination", that only four representatives in the conference came from South Gujarat, whereas the areas of Ahmedavad and Baroda had about a hundred representatives.

Both publishers are aware that what they publish is accessible to the public via the general press. Indeed, at the time of the conference the "Evening Standard", for instance, described the event as 'Indian Mutiny'. This awareness serves as another incentive against spelling out the nature of the rivalry. Yet the fact that the conference received the approval of the Chief Minister of Gujarat, the British government, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Indian High Commission and the British political parties, severely undermined the authority of "Garvi Gujarat" as a widely recognized institution and one which represented the entire Gujarati community. "Garvi Gujarat", therefore, claimed that this approval was not honestly gained.

This event shows that, in some circumstances, castes align themselves to exclude other castes. In this event, castes from Central and North Gujarat (the three largest castes originate from this part of the country), whose resources are roughly the same, collaborated to exclude castes from Southern Gujarat. In other words, castes do not constitute isolated segments within the Gujarati community. This alignment, however, does not inhibit the same caste associations from closely following each other's steps in continual competition.

They all pioneer services and facilities which, prima facie, have nothing to do with the traditional functions of castes in Gujarat, e.g providing mother tongue classes. The fact that there are clients who are ready to use these services is used to prove that these services respond to needs in the Gujarati community.

For example, Gujaratis explain that the elderly are in need of clubs and homes because the extended family structure is weakening. They add that elderly people in Britain cannot meet, owing to the climate and geographical distance, as they were accustomed to in the past. Clubs for the elderly were given priority (and not only by caste associations), for their success in drawing participants 'proved' the existence of a need. Caste associations, however, have allowed such services to be used by members of other castes, and thus have broadened their power base. The fact that these services cater for 'all' people decreases the dependence of these associations on their 'original' members.

In September 1983, the Lohana Community of North London inaugurated a Lohana Sports Project at the Royal Albert Hall. This centre, which was later built in Hatch End, Harrow, was intended:

> to provide and promote a sense of identity for our youth and a sense of caring for our elderly... however, that is not to say that while maintaining an individual community identity, we ignore others - we want to make our maximum contribution to the local and national community in Britain also ("New Life", 23 September 1983).

Two years later, the NAPS opened a community centre in north London, described as "the only Patidar home in this part of the world". The souvenir programme included various references to the nature of the Patidar community, some of which have been mentioned above. Its chairman stated that:

> Our Samaj aims at bringing under one cover all the different dynasties of Patidars and working for their overall progress and betterment in this country. The first thing necessary to achieve this is to establish a cordiality of relationship with similar other organisations here and abroad... We have made quite a headway in this direction (The National Association of the Patidar Samaj, 1985:3).

These quotations show that the two tendencies, exclusive and inclusive, exist side by side. While caste associations remain loyal to their own people, they realize that it is beneficial to them to allow non-members to use their services and participate in their functions. By trying to match the standards maintained by other caste associations, they are effectively co-operating and co-ordinating their organisation. The largest castes do not compete with castes from South Gujarat, whose associations are much smaller. The previous status of the smaller castes, e.g Sutars, in the caste hierarchy in Gujarat, coupled with their present position amongst the associations, has facilitated the notion of difference.

Before discussing this point further (see p. 268) it is worth noting that caste associations benefit their members individually, in addition to catering for collective needs. Individual members use the various social events to promote their business interests and sometimes to legitimize their claim to positions of leadership. Similarly, collective charity legitimizes claims of the large caste associations to a position of superiority within the Gujarati community.

The inauguration of the NAPS centre involved a

potlach-like ritual; the donations of members towards the expenses of the building were engraved on two separate boards which were intended to remain permanently. One board listed all the donations of a thousand pounds and above, while the donations below this figure were listed on a small board. The donor of the largest sum sat on the platform for the honorary guests and his generosity was praised by virtually all speakers.

One of them declared that it was worthwhile for their community to use the services of this businessman, who ran an insurance company, for they would later benefit - indirectly - from a share of the profits. In short, this businessman was doing well to donate money, since he not only raised his standing amongst the members of his association but also probably won some clients.

Such examples are to be found in many accounts of ethnic minorities. In order to get elected to communal positions, Chinese candidates in New York have to donate thousands of dollars to community associations. The names of the donors are publicized in the local Chinese newspapers, which then circulate to Chinese communities throughout the United States (Wong, 1982).

Referring to the obligation of elites to make substantial donations, Werbner observed that:

> Through his donations an individual expresses membership in a circle composed of naturally trusting others. Moreover, contributions made in different contexts signify an individual's identification with a progressively widening series of social groups - from a circle of known intimates, to the whole urban ethnic community including many unknown persons,

> and thus further to the ethnic group as a whole, encompassing even those resident in the diaspora, as well as in the country of origin or region (Werbner, 1985:369-370).

The Gujaratis, however, also donate money to non-Gujarati charities. For example, at a party organised in 1978 by the Harrow branch of the NAPS, a donation was made to the Mayor's charity. The president of the branch recounted on the occasion the history of Patidars, presumably to assert a distinct Patidar identity. The Mayor, however, addressed his speech to all Asians ("Harrow Observer", 14 February 1978). Yet despite the failure of the Patidars to convey the message that they should not be confused with other Gujaratis, they were probably successful in delivering another message: that Gujaratis do not, as is often believed, keep their resources to themselves. By making their resources accessible to the wider society, they increase their influence, as much as individual donors attain more prestige and respect beyond their immediate circles.

Presumably, in the future, institutions to which Gujaratis give charitable contributions (for example, Northwick Park Hospital received a donation from the north London branch of the Lohana Community) may appeal for resources, but will be required to reciprocate in some way.

To sum up the points raised above, it is pertinent that caste associations operate in different areas of the public domain, that they articulate strategies for drawing members and that they are resourceful both in human and financial terms. They cater, in addition, for a multitude

of needs but this does not override the fact that they operate within an intricate, highly fluid, structure which comprises numerous associations.

In Harrow this immediately comes to the fore, as caste associations are members of Harrow CRC and their members are represented in all the forums which Harrow Council established to consult the ethnic community. The interdependence of Gujarati associations is further demonstrated by the fact that both religious and caste associations draw their influence and financial assets from the same human resources. Religious or sectarian affiliation cuts across the caste structure, i.e members of the same caste may belong to different sects and this does not prevent them from inter-marrying (cf. Michaelson, 1979). Some Patidars are Swaminarayans, others are not. Hence, Patidars, like members of other castes, participate in different religious associations. This is particularly significant, as both caste and religious associations possess the endurance, and not only the resources, which other associations do not have.

Whereas caste associations build community centres, religious associations build temples. Other associations, and in particular the small caste associations, cannot raise sufficient funds to build their own premises.

The notion of "difference" still persists and there is a vague awareness that castes from North Gujarat are 'higher' than those from South. Yet this notion, as Pocock (1957) indicated, is inbuilt within a secular system,

where political influences are far more pervasive than traditional or religious ones. Hence this notion of hierarchy is closely related to the status of individual Gujaratis in terms of economic success, educational attainment and so on, as well as to the collective resources that their associations command. Accordingly, individuals from low castes who have 'made it', meet socially with members of higher castes and also participate in such joint ventures as the International Gujarati Conference. The status which individuals accumulate in Britain becomes increasingly important regarding their marriage prospects. The notion of the 'good family', one whose sons and daughters are advantageous candidates for marriage, is inextricably linked with its socio-economic status. Whenever Gujarati informants pointed to sons or daughters who married outside the caste, I noticed these spouses corresponded to the notion of the 'good family' origin.

Caste associations play a dominant role within the organisational structure of the Gujarati community, and as they become increasingly involved with issues that concern the Asian population at large, their interaction with both Asian and non-Asian associations continually intensifies. They thus become increasingly preoccupied with party politics. Indeed, presenting themselves as the advocates of the interests of Gujaratis in Britain may enable them to exert pressure which may be more effective than that exerted through other means.

Gujaratis have displayed no commitment to any one of the political parties, and therefore each political party

tries to pursue the support of Gujaratis. Gujaratis are well aware of this. A member of the Oshwal association explained that all Gujaratis should cast their vote both in the local and general elections. By doing so, he said, Gujaratis would increase their political power, and thus be able to enforce their demands more effectively, both locally and nationally.

The fact that caste associations can provide political parties with platforms, i.e opportunities to 'present their case' to the Gujarati community, potentially gives them considerable influence with these parties. Indeed, the political parties already used the platforms that "Gujarat Samachar" provided them to convey the message that they were concerned with racism and discrimination, and determined to promote equal opportunities. Members of Parliament who have large Gujarati populations in their constituencies are particularly keen to appear on the pages of Gujarati weeklies and other publications.

In 1983, "Gujarat Samachar" released a special issue carrying message from the then Deputy Prime Minister and Home Secretary, William Whitelaw. In 1984 and 1985, other special issues were released with special messages and contributions from the leaders of the Labour and the Liberal parties respectively. All the parties tried to present themselves as being concerned over the welfare of ethnic minorities and with their interests. Each party was - to some extent - successful, for each drew a certain proportion of the votes of Gujaratis in the general and local elections. And, as for "Gujarat Samachar", this

impartiality ensured that no accusations would be made of favouring any one political party.

Caste associations, being no less concerned with preserving the loyalty of their members, operate in a similar fashion. Each one of them have difficulties convincing the political parties that they hold the votes of Gujaratis. Organizing joint functions, apparently, has been the answer to such difficulties. At times representatives of opposition parties are invited but representation is not always 'balanced'. In the inauguration of the National Congress of Gujarati Organisations (held on 31st May 1986), the Home Secretary Douglas Hurd was invited to speak and also two Members of Parliament, Rhodes Boyson (Brent North) and Greville Janner (Leicester West), who had substantial numbers of Gujaratis in their constituencies. The spokesman of the Labour party on Home Affairs was present, but did not give a speech, and no members from either the Liberal or the Social Democratic parties were invited.

The majority of the associations that founded this National Congress were caste associations. At least twelve associations (out of fifty) represented Patidars, mostly from the Kheda district, and others represented the Lohanas, Oshwals and Brahmins. For the purpose of promoting the interests of Gujaratis they have decided to create a permanent organisation which will represent Gujaratis from different parts of Britain. The speeches of the Gujarati delegates made it abundantly clear that Gujaratis were 'politically minded'. Again, the message

conveyed was that Gujaratis should not be taken for granted; that they expected to recompense for their loyalty.

This is an interesting development, as up to then Gujaratis had no one central organisation that was recognized as representing the majority of Gujaratis. The fact that several Gujarati activists (mostly representatives of the large caste associations) have been able to sustain the laborious task of writing a constitution and organising the conference indicates that Gujaratis recognize the shortcomings of working in isolation. Yet there are precedents of other ventures that have failed, the most notable one being the first International Gujarati Conference. This conference was meant to become a permanent forum, but the promises given by its organizers were never fulfilled.

There are precedents in Gujarat of caste associations that have become influential lobbies in Gujarat politics. During the 1950s and the 1960s the Gujarat Kshatriya Sabha became the party that represented the Kshatriya vote, a caste which accounted for almost 30 per cent of the Gujarati population (Shah, 1975). Later, the Sabha became defunct in political as well as social spheres and its leaders dispersed into various political parties. Similar developments cannot take place in overseas communities where the total number of Gujaratis is small.

Gujaratis may eventually try to forge links with other minorities to create an association that can have greater influence on political parties. But it remains to be seen whether this National Congress will survive. Only if it does will it be possible to examine its influence on the caste associations, in terms of their ideologies and their organisation.

Notes (chapter 5)

(1) Ethnic minority voters, according to Anwar (1986) do not vote on ethnic lines but on party basis. Hence, ethnic minority candidates are unlikely to be elected to Parliament thanks to an ethnic vote. However, the fact that political parties tend to nominate ethnic candidates in areas of high ethnic population suggests that they believe that such candidates are better equipped to attract ethnic votes.

(2) Anwar (1986) holds that political parties attempt to win votes with ethnic candidates. He also points out that such candidates complain that they do not get sufficient support from their parties. It is on ground of this evidence, coupled with the fact that no ethnic candidates have been allocated 'safe seats' that this argument is put forward.

(3) Sewa Singh Mandla claimed that his son was excluded unjustly from a school, on ground of wearing a turban. He claimed for indirect discrimination in breach of the 1976 Race Relations Act. The first ruling of Lord Denning asserted that Sikhs were a religious group, rather than ethnic and the claim of the father was therefore rejected. The ruling of the Court of Appeals was later overturned by Law Lords' ruling and its judgement defined Sikhs as an ethnic group ("New Society", 5 August 1982 and 31 March 1983).

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

This thesis is a case study of urban, or rather, suburban ethnicity. As studies tend to concentrate on minority groups in 'twilight zones' whose residents live in dilapidated houses, suffer from high unemployment and experience other hardships, it seems appropriate to make this distinction. The socio-economic status of Harrow's Asian residents is more advantageous than that of those who live in Brent, the adjacent Borough. The latter constitute, in some wards, almost half of the population. In Harrow, most Asians are owner-occupiers, and live in wards where their proportion is no more than 25 per cent. Though they are recent newcomers to Britain, most (but not all) Asians in Harrow are well versed in English and can be described by their occupation as 'middle class'. They are accountants, solicitors, engineers, technicians, and clerks; some are manual labourers. Their choice of residence indicates that they are spatially mobile and that, by and large, they wish to mix residentially with the majority population. Hence, while some Asians continue to move into Harrow, others seek areas of more prestige, either inside or outside Harrow.

This case study was primarily concerned with describing and analysing the ways in which the newly arrived Gujaratis, most of whom came to Britain in the 1970s, adapted to life in a new environment. The current

academic discourse suggested several approaches to examining urban ethnicity, some of which were extensively used in the thesis. While these approaches provided a general framework of analysis, they all presented some theoretical difficulties. That Gujaratis could, by most criteria, qualify as an ethnic group, was hardly questioned. Yet it was difficult to reconcile the findings of this study with sociological theories that either portrayed ethnic minorities as insular, self-contained groups with an all-encompassing identity, or with theories that relied on common interest to be a force strong enough to unite people into groups which sought self-determination.

In reviewing some of the existing literature on Asians (particularly on Gujaratis) in chapter 1, it became evident that some researchers presupposed that people originating, for example, in Gujarat were all 'Gujaratis', members of a minority with well defined ethnic boundaries. This assumption dictated the questions which the researchers examined. The questions, roughly, that studies such as Hahlo's (1980) were concerned with, are about who the Gujaratis are (for example, Hahlo examined the question whether Muslim Gujaratis comprised a distinct minority); how the caste structure persist in a new environment (for example, Michaelson (1979)); what their motives in coming to Britain are (for example, Desai (1963)); and so forth. The issues discussed in this thesis are not entirely different. Nevertheless, in view of the emphasis previously put on continuity and the absence of reference to the new elements manifest in

social organisation and its emergent symbols, it seemed appropriate to re-address issues that are more closely related to the current position of Gujaratis: management of time, maintenance of relationships, organisation of activities, administration of associations and so on.

It should have been emphasized that studies of Gujaratis are not different in essence from those of other Asian minorities in Britain. By now they all follow the same trend, namely, the smaller the group the better findings the study is expected to yield. Indeed, there is greater likelihood of finding similarities in groups whose members originate in the same place, speak the same language, adhere to the same religion, migrate with same motives and arrive in Britain roughly in the same period. However, the underlying assumption behind the sub-dividing is that cultural similarity is the most vital feature to characterize an ethnic group. Cultural formations were undoubtedly an important element in the amalgamation of an ethnic group, but unless these were manifest in communal organisation, the people who shared a culture were but a category of people with a distinct life style.

There is no better illustration of this trend than Robinson's (1986) study of Asians in Blackburn. Though Robinson states categorically that "'Asian' is in reality only a convenient mental construct used by the white population" and that "the notion that the terms 'South Asian' or 'East African' have any greater empirical reality is also false" (1986:178), he holds that a further division of the Asian population is the answer to this, apparently

misguided, classification. He therefore divides Asians in Blackburn into sixteen groups, and then measures the acculturation and assimilation[1] of twelve groups. Having compressed all the criteria for assimilation into two figures - one to measure potential of assimilation and the other to determine 'absolute' assimilation - the position of each group is then located on the relevant continuums. The reader is then made to believe that sixteen groups coexist in Blackburn, each following a different pace towards assimilation. It is not clear, however, whether each group has its own distinct social organisation. These findings, presumably, reveal all that is necessary to know about these 'groups'. Both East African and Indian Gujarati Hindus were found to have no more than moderate potential for assimilation, but succeeded in becoming assimilated (in 'absolute' terms). Indian Gujarati Hindus scored highly for their primary group contact and for "paradoxically, their perception that British people were friendly and not dissimilar to themselves" (1986:211). However, when the potential for assimilation cannot predict 'absolute' assimilation (whatever their operational definitions may be), the whole exercise neither enhances our understanding of the groups concerned nor adds any knowledge or information about them[2].

According to the approach adopted in this study attributes associated with the land of origin provided one set of parameters that were to be juxtaposed against those related to the new environment. Surely, these migrants came originally from Gujarat and the majority of them were

Hindus but it was impossible to ignore they had much in common with other Asians and that this was bound to be expressed not only in the spontaneous reflections of their identity (cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958:1471) but also in their communal organisation and the relationships they established with the majority group. It was tempting to define ethnic boundaries on the basis of characteristics such as employed by Robinson, that is, to map the Asian population according to place of origin, religion, and whether they came from rural or urban background. Yet the identifications that flowed from such classifications were inextricably woven not only within themselves but also with characteristics entrenched in the current position of Gujaratis. Having to live side by side with other Asians meant that identifications and loyalties were continually revised, and that there was a need to strike a balance between the migrants' past and current positions. To some East African Hindu Gujaratis, their Ismaili neighbours were much closer to them than recently arrived Gujaratis from India. Similarly, some Hindu Gujaratis from Bombay felt greater affinity with Gujarati Muslims who migrated from that metropolis. Besides, the current socio-economic position of the migrants affected considerably the ties which they established, not only with new acquaintances but also with their kinfolk.

Bhachu's study, in many respects, points in the direction which I thought to be much more adequate for examining an essentially dynamic situation. Though she confines her study to one caste, the Ramgharia, it soon becomes abundantly clear that the Ramgharia identity has

evolved in Britain and that Ramgharias have other identities which are shared with non-Ramgharia Sikhs. This, Bhachu explains, is a result of a situation where in East Africa Ramgharias constituted the largest single caste from the Punjab. Hence, it was in Britain (or rather, in Southall, where the study was conducted) that Ramgharias became closely familiar with Sikh Jats. The relationships that subsequently evolved led to a crystallisation of what Bhachu calls 'Ramgharianess' and 'East Africaness'. That is, the fact that the Jats came directly from India accentuated the East African influence on the Ramgharias. In one example Bhachu recounts how an Indian Sikh who had many East African Sikh friends wore his turban in an East African style. His attempt to be accepted as an East African Sikh gained little success. Nevertheless, such an attempt succinctly shows that boundaries were not perceived to be rigid.

In this study I have followed similar arguments even further and also repeated the idea that boundaries were essentially flexible. Most Gujaratis cannot pass as 'indigenous'; yet, whereas some feel that their colour does not present an insurmountable barrier, others genuinely feel that they do not wish 'to become British'. I shall later return to this point. Meanwhile, I should add that though I have not come across male Britons who have been accepted as Gujarati, I know of several female Britons who married Gujaratis, learned to cook Gujarati food, wore saris on the right occasions and who, in a very large measure, were considered to be 'Gujarati' by their

husbands' families. In some respects there was greater awareness in such families of the link with Gujarat, and the children (some of whom spoke Gujarati) travelled several times to Gujarat. These examples are far from being typical. However, apart from showing that inter-marriage cannot be simplistically viewed as an indicator of assimilation, such examples demonstrate that being a Gujarati is not an ascriptive status, gained by merit of birth, but one which is achieved.

The situation which I have portrayed is one in which shifting allegiances bear both on primary and secondary relationships. By secondary relationships I also mean those manifest in bureaucratic procedures which institutionalize the relationships between the Asians and the predominantly white establishment. In chapter 2, which delineates the migratory movements (both external and internal) that led to the settlement of Asians in Harrow, there was little in the way of suggesting the direction in which inter-group relations would evolve. As far as the reception of Ugandan Asians was concerned, there was negligible involvement of Asians in decision making and consultation. It seemed that the new settlers were primarily concerned with the welfare of their families, mainly with finding employment and purchasing their own homes. The 1970s were the consolidation years that saw the beginning of several associations in Harrow. These associations tried to forge links with other associations and make the local population aware of their existence. The picture in chapter 3 is radically different; the

docile, hard working Asians were increasingly concerned with their rights: as parents, as patients, as recipients of social (statutory and other) services, and, more generally, as residents and citizens.

Chapter 3 follows closely the intensification of inter-group relations and examines several committees established by Harrow council to consult ethnic minorities. It looks into the roles of each side in the bargaining process: the State (mainly as a funding body but also as a legislator), the local authority (and the role of councillors and council employees respectively) and then indigenous and Asian associations. Both formal and informal aspects of these relationships are then examined. At that stage I tried to locate the various Gujarati as well as other Asian associations that had access to the Council and examine the ways in which they pursued to exert influence, though I have not studied equally all the Asian associations in Harrow. It was apparent, for example, that the membership of Pakistani associations constituted a relatively well defined category of people. Similarly so with the Anglo-Indian Art Circle, though this was not obvious at the outset. Yet no association could assume to represent narrow interests - concerned with its own membership alone. The most important division that eventually developed in the committees' meetings was that between 'blacks' and 'whites'. The sense of solidarity that evolved subsequently led both to the creation of new associations (Harrow Asian Action Group, Anti-Racist Response Action Group and Asian Parents Group) and to greater collaboration between them.

Though Gujaratis were the most radical activists, either in terms of ideological elaboration or the demands which were made, others soon followed suit. Throughout this process they oscillated between several identities: 'Gujaratis', 'Asians', 'blacks'. Hence, the idea that 'Gujaratiness' was but one identity out of several was further reaffirmed. In retrospect, it would be impossible to recount chronologically the conceptual development of certain ideas which evolved in the course of the study, in particular the notion of multiple identities. Nevertheless, by the time I began to observe Council meetings I was familiar enough with Gujaratis in Harrow to appreciate that in other circumstances Gujaratis appeared as Hindus, as Indians, and, of course, as Asians. Several examples to illustrate this point are referred to in the thesis.

Chapter 3 looks mainly at the bargaining between Harrow Council and its black residents, mainly Asians. And, since these activists were representatives of associations, the discussion gradually shifted towards greater emphasis on organisational manifestations of ethnicity. The fact that associations were 'tangible' units - each existing for a number of years with a certain number of members and so on - made it tempting to interpret the organisational structure as a proxy of the social organisation of the minority concerned. In other words, Cohen's proposition that the organisation <u>is</u> the group (Cohen, 1974) appealed to me. Nonetheless, since a great deal of time was apportioned to debating whether Asians were 'black' and what minorities counted as 'black', it seemed that the very position of Asians as members of a

minority group was at stake. That is, in addition to bargaining for concrete benefits this setting encouraged an unceasing revision of ideological premises. Asians also negotiated their roles, the identifications which they thought described them best. Cohen adds in this context that:

> we are often dealing here not with a collectivity of total personalities, but with patterns of behaviour developed by a number of people participating with one another in respect of some specific, segmental, roles (1974:xvii).

These segmental roles, which I previously described as cross-cutting identities, include 'black' as an equally valid identification. This role gained previously little attention in the literature, partly because the claim to be 'black' is recent, and partly - I suppose - because this is not an identification that has any specific cultural concomitants. Nonetheless, this identification has important political implications.

In most day-to-day interactions, negotiations of roles or of definitions of situations are not made explicit. Conversely, the proceedings of the committees create a kind of a microcosm, almost a laboratory situation, where frustrations are bound to be unveiled and covert prejudices laid bare. Though the expression of prejudice was certainly illegitimate, the heated debates slipped at times to bitter accusations and half hearted apologies. The participants in this exercise did not represent the widest cross-section of opinions on the matters discussed, but at least as far as Gujaratis were concerned the representatives played a vital role as agents of change. During

the four years of the study it became evident that the so called traditional leaders (the older leaders, mainly presidents of caste and religious associations) had become acquainted with the ideological articulation that is related to the claim to be 'black', and that this corresponded to a growing conviction that collective action by all blacks in Britain may prove a powerful political instrument.

Chapter 4 initially departed from a discussion on the political aspects of ethnicity to examine the links which Gujaratis establish with their country of origin and the maintenance of cultural formations. These could help indicate how their settlement in Britain was perceived (for example, do Gujaratis conceive of their settlement to be permanent or temporary). Kinfolk in India were, to a certain extent, more 'traditional', and they exerted pressure (as much as was possible in the circumstances) on their overseas relatives to display loyalty to their Gujarati heritage. Much has been written on the links between Asian migrants in Britain and their kinfolk in the Indian subcontinent, and it is in this context that the term 'between two cultures' was coined. What I found was that relatives in India were at least as keen as their migrant relatives to maintain relationships, and that in Britain Gujaratis had an additional interest in preserving them. Many Gujaratis shared a sense of insecurity whose sources went back to the Ugandan expulsion (and even before), and in Britain their insecurity became more closely related to the hostile response of the white population. Hence, maintaining relationships with India - a country to which

they could always return - somewhat eased, but not resolved, their sense of vulnerability, partly because India was not considered a desirable destination for settlement. An active contemplation of return was almost completely absent.

So, although the discussion was initially concerned with the maintenance of cultural formations, having to spell out the various social forces meant that the hostility which they encountered had to be mentioned yet again.

More than any other feature of Gujarati culture, language was perceived as the most important to preserve. Or rather, a conscious effort had to be made in this direction and classes were established to teach the young the Gujarati language. This was but one part of a broader effort to socialize the young into their British-Gujarati identity. I should add that it was mainly for the sake of convenience that I referred mostly to a 'Gujarati identity' rather than to a 'British-Gujarati' one. The ways in which the young were to be socialized were, almost without exception, unique to Britain. A most obvious example (and others were mentioned elsewhere) would be the way in which Gujaratis celebrate Diwali and other festivals, occasions where the young (mostly females) wear the traditional dress and learn how to perform aarti (a religious ceremony). Even those Gujaratis who do not frequent temples would participate in these celebrations, whose character is very different from similar celebrations in Gujarat. The 'British' elements appear in manifold ways, mainly in decorations and forms of entertainment (such as raffles).

Chapter 4 concluded that the home was no longer the sole agent of socialisation, and a collective effort was necessary to supplement it.

This collective effort is described in chapter 5, alongside other activities of Gujarati voluntary associations. It was not possible to discuss, in chapter 4, the ways in which Gujaratis sought to preserve a distinct culture without referring to the hostility they confronted, and I also discussed in this context the implications of their disadvantageous position in the labour market. Chapter 5 also touches on this subject, for the growing influence of Asian associations in Harrow eventually led to formation of a counter-lobby which attempted to limit the growing influence (albeit without tangible consequences) of Asian residents. This chapter further explores the avenues through which ethnic groups can assert certain demands, the rationale being that this could alter their organisation. It was important to point out in this context that ethnic groups could not organize formally or 'efficiently'. Apparently, the statutory regulations in Britain constrained possibilities of basing claims on the ground of religion (with some exceptions) and I have explained in this context the significance of the 1976 Race Relations Act.

All this does not mean that religion was not perceived by the host society as an important feature of the migrants culture. However, religion was a 'safe sphere', where hostile sentiments were unlikely to be aroused. In summer 1986, when Harrow council decided not to grant permission for building a Swaminarayan temple, Gujaratis felt that they were discriminated against because they were

Asians and not because they held religious beliefs different from those of the majority group.

The discussion on religion further exemplified what seemed to be the all-pervasive influence of the State. The prevalence of this influence was also evident in the discussion on caste and caste associations. Nevertheless, the ascription of Gujaratis to caste and their participation in caste association was one social sphere which seemed to be the least influenced by the State. Or rather, the response of the British society towards this mode of ascription seemed to influence the Gujaratis into keeping a low profile. When caste associations acquired premises (a procedure which required a permit from the local authority) they sometimes had to allow non-members to use them, for otherwise they could be accused of discriminatory practices and permits would be withdrawn. Most Gujaratis use the term 'community', when describing the aggregate of their caste members, and this succinctly reflects the essentially secular character of caste associations. The members of each association do not only belong to the same caste but often come from the same villages, and associations thus help to maintain contacts both with these villages and with similar caste associations that exist in Gujarat. Nowadays, caste associations in Britain are occupied with forging links with the political parties, mainly through joint functions. This is a recent development and the findings on this were inconclusive.

In various parts of the thesis I have referred to the ways in which Gujaratis perceive themselves and their identity as minority members. Previous chapters examined both the cultural and organisational aspects of the Gujarati community but little was said on the cognitive or the subjective dimension, the third factor that Cohen employs in examining ethnic groups. A more comprehensive discussion on this topic will assist to sum up the conclusions of this study.

6.2 Gujaratis' own perceptions of themselves

It should be evident by now that being Gujarati, or, to borrow from Bhachu, one's 'Gujaratiness' is a general identification that crosscuts other identities that are related but not identical to it. Gujaratis do not frequent temples or celebrate India's independence day simply as Gujaratis. These relate to their identifications as Hindus and Indians respectively.

Though throughout the thesis I have described the behaviour of Gujaratis in various spheres, little was said on whether there was something peculiarly Gujarati about either their behaviour, perceptions and so forth. To judge by Gujaratis' own utterances, they certainly possess certain characteristics that are uniquely Gujarati. They would mention, for example, that Gujaratis are very keen to exhibit their wealth, and in particular would spend a 'fortune' on weddings. This example was given both in Gujarat and in Britain.

Since I had no first-hand and equivalent knowledge of other ethnic groups, I was not in a position to evaluate whether such judgements indeed typified Gujaratis, and I have also heard many conflicting accounts regarding the same subjects. Some people would argue that Gujaratis live below their means, and in the same breath would describe at length their conspicuous consumption. All in all, apart from areas that relate to their religious observance or to their cultural formations, it seems to be of little use - certainly from the methodological point of view - to suggest that Gujaratis possess some unique personality features. Such exercises were carried out in Gujarat. In his study of the Kshatriyas, Shah (1975) examined specific traits of this caste and found out that these were closely related to age and economic status. There were no traits which most Kshatriyas shared irrespective of these factors.

Coming back to the topic of Gujaratis' own perceptions of themselves, it is worth noting in this context that Barth (1969) attaches great importance to self-ascription, on the ground that people utilize self-ascribed as well as other-ascribed identities. The emphasis on ascription led Barth to focus his attention on ethnic boundaries and the constraints which are imposed on interaction between ethnic groups. He distinguished in this context between cognitive identities and objective categories that the researcher establishes on the basis of his analysis of the people who he considers to be members of some designated ethnic group (cf. Mitchell, 1974:18). Such a separation is necessary if there is a considerable

discrepancy between the behaviours of the people concerned and the meanings which they attach to them. The various and varying accounts which Gujaratis volunteered in the course of the study allow for some elaboration on the ways in which they conceive of their identity, though above all they were valuable in that providing indications of ideological and cultural changes that were taking place.

Most Gujaratis who were willing to co-operate and to contribute to this study were, I believe, sincere in their portrayal of the situation of Gujaratis in Britain. They did not attempt to present their own views as if they were held by all Gujaratis, nor did they try to 'sentimentalize' (cf. Morawska, 1986) and idealize the relationships between Gujaratis. The vehemence with which they criticized the endeavours of other Gujaratis indicated that reality did not match their expectations. If they possessed any stereotypes of other Gujaratis these can by no means be counted as clear-cut negative stigmas. If one Lohana, for example accused Patidars for being 'communal', he would soon add that this 'communalism' meant that in times of trouble Patidars were more likely to offer help to their caste members. Such judgements show that Gujaratis mix socially and their negative attitudes towards other Asian minorities indicate that they were not equally familiar with members of these minorities.

The ways in which Gujaratis approached various subjects made it abundantly clear that these were influenced both by their own perception of the ethnic affiliation of the researcher and by the knowledge that the researcher demonstrated in the course of conversations with them.

For those who saw themselves as 'black', the researcher was a 'white' person. To the Gujaratis concerned, the more general solidarity that this identity entailed did not contradict the exclusion which affiliation to caste suggested, and yet some were reluctant to talk about their involvement in caste associations. Other Gujaratis, however, were less ideologically motivated. If they thought of themselves as an ethnic group this was a result of the currency which this term has gained. Gujaratis spoke of themselves in the language of 'communities', and each community comprised members of a single caste. Using the term caste would be an anathema to many of them, and at least in this respect there is a discrepancy between cognitive identities and objective categories which I have extensively used in the study. As one Patidar explained: 'we are not a caste. We are a large family, which is branch of a tree. And this tree is the large community, the Gujarati people'. Though Gujaratis certainly saw themselves as a group that was being discriminated against, competition between groups was perceived to be legitimate, rather than as an adverse result of a divided society.

Conversations with Gujaratis and their accounts of certain events had to be measured against information obtained through other channels. Attending functions which they organized, amongst them the first International Gujarati Conference, the inauguration of the NAPS community centre in north London, the cultural Festival of India and the inauguration of the National Congress of Gujarati Organisationswas an invaluable source of information. Such

events made it possible to observe individuals objectively in the 'concrete reality' and appreciate the multiplicity of roles and identities that people assumed. Even within a single sphere people played different roles, and some examples are given in the thesis. The following example should clarify another discrepancy between cognitive identities and objective categories. One Gujarati who said that he was not a Swaminarayan apparently participated in many events organized whenever Pramuk Swami frequented Britain. He added that his own guru lived in north India and explained that 'I do not believe in religion. There is one god and I can worship him in all places of worship'. Many Swaminarayan devotees, in turn, would frequent Hindu temples. In this case it seems that the objective categories should be adjusted to include the possibility that affiliation to religion or sect can accommodate a wider range of religious behaviour.

Most of the interviewees saw themselves as Gujaratis and were proud of their reputation in Britain of being hard working people. Some, however, were concerned that this image would arouse envy and hostility. At times it seemed that if I were to determine ethnic boundaries by the answer to the question 'are you a Gujarati?', this exercise would result in clear-cut boundaries. In India the answer is more uniform: 'are you a Gujarati?' is interpreted as 'do you, and/or your parents, come from Gujarat?'. There is no ambiguity about it. The question was sometimes interpreted on the same lines in Britain. Respondents would say that they were Gujarati, by which they meant 'I, and/or my family,

come from Gujarat'. The question 'where do you come from?' led to a variety of responses. The answer sometimes referred to the country that the Gujaratis had left before arriving in Britain. Upon addressing this question to a pharmacist in north west London, I was told that she was from Portugal. 'Are you not a Gujarati?' I asked, since various signs suggested that the pharmacy was owned by Gujaratis. The answer to the second question was 'yes'. As I gradually found out, this pharmacy attracted Spanish speaking people. However, the answer suggests that the respondent did not expect non-Gujaratis to identify her as Gujarati.

Most Gujaratis assume no knowledge on the part of the person asking these questions, unless this person is an Asian. In normal day to day conversations Gujaratis refer to themselves as such only in the context of interacting with other Asians. The extent to which they preferred to be recognized as 'Gujaratis' is difficult to say. The following account gives some indication:

> Firstly, I'd rather say Indian than Asian, because Asia is a large continent with numerous cultures and traditions, thus the label "Asian" cannot identify an individual like me. "Indian" is better, but knowing that my origins are from Gujarat, and that I am a Hindu may help to characterize me more specifically (Writing of Asian Women, 1984:34).

This woman confined her aspirations to a realistic observation of the information which white people possessed. She recognized that, while she could not pass as indigenous , she still had a certain influence over the way she was labelled by white British people. As other examples in the thesis demonstrate, Asians attempt to extend their control

over the way in which they are defined by white Britons, and they claim one of a variety of identities, depending on the situation. One informant proudly claimed that councillors in Harrow knew him as Lohana. The tone of his comment suggested that it was due to people like him that the Lohanas became known in the corridors of local politics. What the councillors in fact knew or understood from it was of no concern to him. It was far more important to him that he was able to assert an identity that would not confuse him with other Asians.

In Hutton, Punjabis have similarly contemplated ways of dissociating themselves from other Asians, namely, East African Asians. Gaynor Cohen (1984-1985) suggests that Punjabis regarded the East Africans (probably, Gujaratis) as 'traders' and 'pushy' and organized functions "to inform the local population that the Punjabis were educated professionals who were different from other immigrant groups" (1984-85:95). Presumably, the Lohana mentioned above had the same intentions in mind, and yet most of these attempts fail. White Britons have in the past categorized all South Asians as 'Asians', since they based their judgement on physiological attributes. Researchers in the 1950s and even in the 1960s, e.g Patterson (1965), often pointed out that, at the time, white Britons had little knowledge of people from the Commonwealth. Thereafter white Britons have learned to distinguish between various ethnic minorities, though mainly by physical attributes. Hence, Gujaratis in the streets of Harrow are met with the 'Paki' abuse, which was originally intended to harass Pakistanis.

An answer such as 'I am East African', without reference to Asian origin, is an attempt to avoid being labelled as an 'Asian'. Again, I was only able to fully appreciate the meaning of these responses during my visit in Gujarat. In India, people were only too willing to assert that they were Gujarati; coming from Gujarat entailed no inferiority. Hence, they were sympathetic to the idea that somebody took interest in their society and culture. Both lay people as well as professionals did their utmost to introduce me to many aspects of their life.

In Britain, some people resented being labelled by others as Asians and therefore resorted to answers that did not identify them with their Indian background. Numerous introductions to Gujaratis were in fact brief negotiations: first, Gujaratis avoided describing themselves as such. But then, for example, if they were spoken to in Gujarati, they would immediately mention their Gujarati origin.

Most Gujaratis are disillusioned about the prospects of passing as indigenous, but some of them claim that their disenchantment with British society does not make their affiliation to a Gujarati ethnic group more attractive. They try to separate themselves from their Gujarati fellow-men as much as they possibly can, sometimes at the expense of offending their own families.

According to the interpretation outlined in this study such people should not be regarded as members of an ethnic group. These people, mostly professionals, may be viewed by their group as 'integrated' or 'westernized'. The group may even resent their attempst to be affiliated

to it. For example, several informants vehemently argued that the author V.S. Naipaul should not be regarded as Indian. He was too 'assimilated', in their view, to be fully recognized as an Indian. In Harrow, to mention yet another example, several informants commented that an Asian councillor was too assimilated to pass as an Asian and that she called herself Asian to attract votes. In this particular case, the fact that the councillor was married to a white person outweighed any other factor that could have influenced their judgement.

To sum up, the picture which this study has attempted to portray is one where people assert their identity through social action. The group to which they belong does not consist of a 'fixed population' (cf. Walzer, 1982) of people who belong to it by merit of birth. Rather, there is a continual osmosis of individuals who enter the group, for various periods of time. They remain in the group as long as they participate in its communal life. At present, most Asians who originate in Gujarat (but not all) identify themselves as Gujaratis and their social life revolves around their kith and kin.

In circumstances where the members of the group concerned shared several, overlapping, identities, the organisation which they established provided a relatively stable framework of reference, reflecting both collective and individual needs, as well as ideological orientations. These orientations, in turn, manifest themselves through modes of ascription. It is impossible to speak of a 'fixed population' when modes of ascription and regulation of

exclusiveness and inclusiveness continually change. In our case, some changes were facilitated by the migratory movement of the group studied, whereas others were more closely related to its position in Britain.

In the political domain, ethnic identities and allegiances are re-shaped and mobilized in various directions. The State, it has been shown, does not significantly affect ethnic loyalties and identifications, mainly because the resources allocated for people whose origin is outside Britain are marginal. In addition to the fact that the State does not possess clear-cut criteria of ethnic divisions, it does not act as a unified adminstrative and ideological unit. This weakens its role in what may be regarded as a 'natural' process whereby ethnic identities are formulated as groups articulate new strategies in an attempt to diversify their influence.

The Gujaratis may be seen as a group that emerged against a background where loyalties to kin, caste and religion, linked to a particular geographical area, have been transformed in the course of migration and settlement. The emergence of this group was influenced (but not dictated) by certain historical events and political circumstances.

Notes (chapter 6)

(1) In calculating the degree of acculturation, Robinson takes into account both intrinsic and extrinsic cultural traits. The latter were represented by data of the frequency with which adult women and children under the age of eleven years wore traditional dress; in particular, the percentage who wore traditional dress at all times. Intrinsic cultural traits were represented by the issue of religious faith. Twelve criteria were used in calculating assimilation: language, secondary contact (divided into two variables: industrial concentration and residential concentration), primary contact, orientation (measured by three variables: remittances; return migration and transmission of mother tongue to children), acculturation and identification (measured by social distance and perceived friendliness of British) .

(2) The failure of this exercise is partly a result of the way in which Robinson chose to divide the Asian population. Out of a total of 1702 households in his sample, several groups counted no more than 40 households. Some groups, but not all of them, were divided according to whether they came from rural or urban background. East African Gujarati Muslims thus comprised two groups, but not East African Gujarati Hindus. This is probably because, if similarly divided, the number of each sub-group would have been too small to be included in the analysis.

APPENDIX I

FOOD AND IDENTITY: THE COURSE OF CHANGE

Introductory Notes

Migrants adjust to a new environment in numerous ways and their concern is above all the management of everyday life. The significance of food in the process of adjustment, however, needs to be spelt out. Migrants may or may not have difficulties in finding employment and home to live in. They may or may not experience other hardships, but their lives depend, more than anything else, on the supply of food. Though in developed countries people do not, on the whole, suffer starvation, below a certain income people can barely maintain an adequate diet. Unemployed families in Britain, it was found by Charles and Kerr (1986), cannot maintain the food habits to which they were previously accustomed, and the lack of 'proper' food in sufficient quantities enhanced a sense of deprivation.

In Britain today Asian migrants exercise a considerable measure of choice in the food they consume, and though this is certainly constrained by financial considerations, a wide variety of 'ethnic' food is available. Asian migrants can, if they so desire, maintain a diet almost identical to that in the Indian subcontinent or in other countries from where they migrated.

Food habits[1] of Asian migrants are linked to their religious practices and their perceptions of health and well being. Many Asians, for example, would not eat meat and some families would take ghee because they believe that

this is a healthy food. In India these practices were taken for granted. In the land of migration their food practices have become an aspect which not only identifies the migrant, in terms of his place of origin, but also defines him. The migrant is 'progressive' when he embraces food habits which resemble those of the host society. Otherwise he is 'traditional', and no intermediary option seems to exist. This is not to say that food habits are otherwise dissociated from social status. They certainly are entrenched in the social stratification (cf. Goody, 1982). Yet a host society utilizes a different set of criteria with which to judge the food habits of migrant groups. These criteria have much to do with its attitudes towards the migrants[2] and these are also influenced by the food provided by 'ethnic' restaurants. The migrants too hold certain preconceptions about the cuisine and food habits of the host society and these - where they originate in ex-colonies - are influenced by the past experience with the colonisers.

Soon after arrival the migrant weighs the costs and benefits of various choices of residence and job opportunities, but the choice of food is not dictated in the same fashion. Some urgent decisions have to be made in the area of food, and the satisfaction of hunger undoubtedly overrides any other consideration. Yet preferences of tastes and the manner in which food is taken can remain intact for a long period of time. Whether or not preferences are connected to early childhood, food is needed by adults to satisfy deep emotional needs, apart from having a vital social function. Decisions

in the area of food do not correspond therefore to the same decision making patterns involved, for example, in moving to a new residence.

The food habits of migrants eventually develop into what can be loosely described as a compromise; they are neither identical to those in the homeland, nor are they identical to the food habits which are associated with the host society. However, the desire of migrants to retain at least some features of their original cuisine seems to be universal. In America, Italian migrants in major cities were soon able to maintain their own consumption of pasta, sausages, olive oil and other products (cf. Pelto and Pelto, 1985:318), and there are numerous other examples to illustrate this point. Yet a priori it is impossible to predict the changes that take place in the domain of food, nor is it possible to decipher, so to speak, the relations of the migrants with the host society by examining food alone. These relationships are complex and no one aspect can provide an adequate portrayal of them.

The task of the following analysis is therefore twofold: first, to describe the food habits of Gujaratis and point to the changes that have taken place. Second, to juxtapose changes in the area of food against those in other social spheres.

One of the underlying assumptions is that food in modern society is an area where modifications continually take place. This is a result of delocalisation, that is, the reduction of local autonomy of energy resources (cf.

Pelto and Pelto, 1985:312). This reduction has coincided with the growth of commercial food distribution networks and the development of food processing technologies. No nation therefore remains insular and in Britain these processes continue to affect the diet of the population. The other assumption is that food behaviour reveals a great deal about the orientation of people, their aspirations as well as their relationships with other sections of society. In the case of migrants food is a domain which can arouse hostile emotions as much as it can stimulate the emergence of new bonds (see p.328). Before further explaining the social meaning of food it ought to be emphasized that alongside changes owing to market forces there are changes in the ideology of food (cf. Mead, 1964).

As food habits of the majority change, for whatever reasons, so does the ideology of food. Issues that relate to food, in particular its role in the maintenance of good health, are continually discussed in Britain not only by health professionals but also by the public at large. In the 1980s a public debate on the subject was inspired by the controversial NACNE report, a document which suggested that the majority of Britons consumed a diet which was detrimental to their health. The findings of this report and its conclusions were publicized in the national press, and subsequently several books on the subject have been published, all designed to facilitate the implementation of the report's recommendations. These are developments that should be born in mind when the food habits of one section of the population are examined.

The public debate above was preceded with a debate on the diet of Asians in Britain, in particular on the low intake of vitamin D and the relatively high prevalence of rickets and its relation to socio-religious customs (on these relations, see Hunt and others, 1976). After the Rickets Campaign, which was launched by the Save The Children Fund in 1982, the interest of the media in this issue has faded, but not the interest of health professionals. Some researchers now argue, sometimes in these very words, that racism is a cause of ill health, and most of them hold that the Rickets Campaign was patronising in its approach towards Asians (Donovan, 1986: 118-119). Asians in Harrow were aware of the problem of rickets long before a campaign was launched. In 1977, the Harrow based Confederation of Indian Organisations drew the attention of David Ennals, the then Health Minister, to the growing problem of rickets, particularly among Asian children. They therefore welcomed action towards alleviating the problem.

The interest in the health of Asians in Harrow eventually led to setting up of this study. Several researchers in Northwick Park Hospital felt that a social scientist could contribute to the understanding of changes in food habits, and since the majority of Asians in Harrow were of Gujarati origin it was decided to study the food habits of Gujarati migrants. The following thus focuses solely on the social and cultural aspects of food habits, and no attempt was made to assess its adequacy in terms of nutrient or calorie intake.

The Social Meaning of Food

To become a part of an eating pattern, an available food must be acceptable (cf. Gift and others, 1972:34). There are various degrees of acceptability, and not all edible substance is considered to be 'food', or rather 'proper food' (Charles and Kerr, 1986; Helman, 1985). As migrants settle down in a new country, they become more familiar with the range of foods available in the market, in particular with food made available by the catering industry. Canteens in schools and the working place, fast food outlets and restaurants all assist the process of acquainting the migrant to new foods. Some religious taboos may deter the migrant from trying some new foods. However, acquaintance with new foods does not necessarily imply that the migrant should have direct experience of them, that is, through consumption.

Acceptability of food in the home has to be distinguished from that which occasional consumption outside the home implies. Not all food that is consumed outside the home immediately becomes 'proper food' that can be incorporated into the cuisine of the group concerned. The range of food behaviour outside the home is much more diverse and in the case of Gujaratis it seems that they have wide experience of food provided by the catering industry. This can be said to be loosely connected to their behaviour and attitudes in other spheres, as Gujaratis do not wish to isolate themselves, residentially or otherwise. At home food is taken with the family, and the norms of behaviour outside are not necessarily observed. It is in the home where families may prepare and consume,

without any constraints the food which they prefer most. Yet the influence to which migrants are exposed eventually find their way to the home and alter at least some features of their cuisine.

One of the main questions in this context is what are the prerequisites that allow the incorporation of new foods. Assuming that migrants wish to accumulate social status it needs to be asked, for example, whether the association of food with high social status makes it more attractive; and, similarly, how considerations of convenience are involved in the process of incorporating new foods.

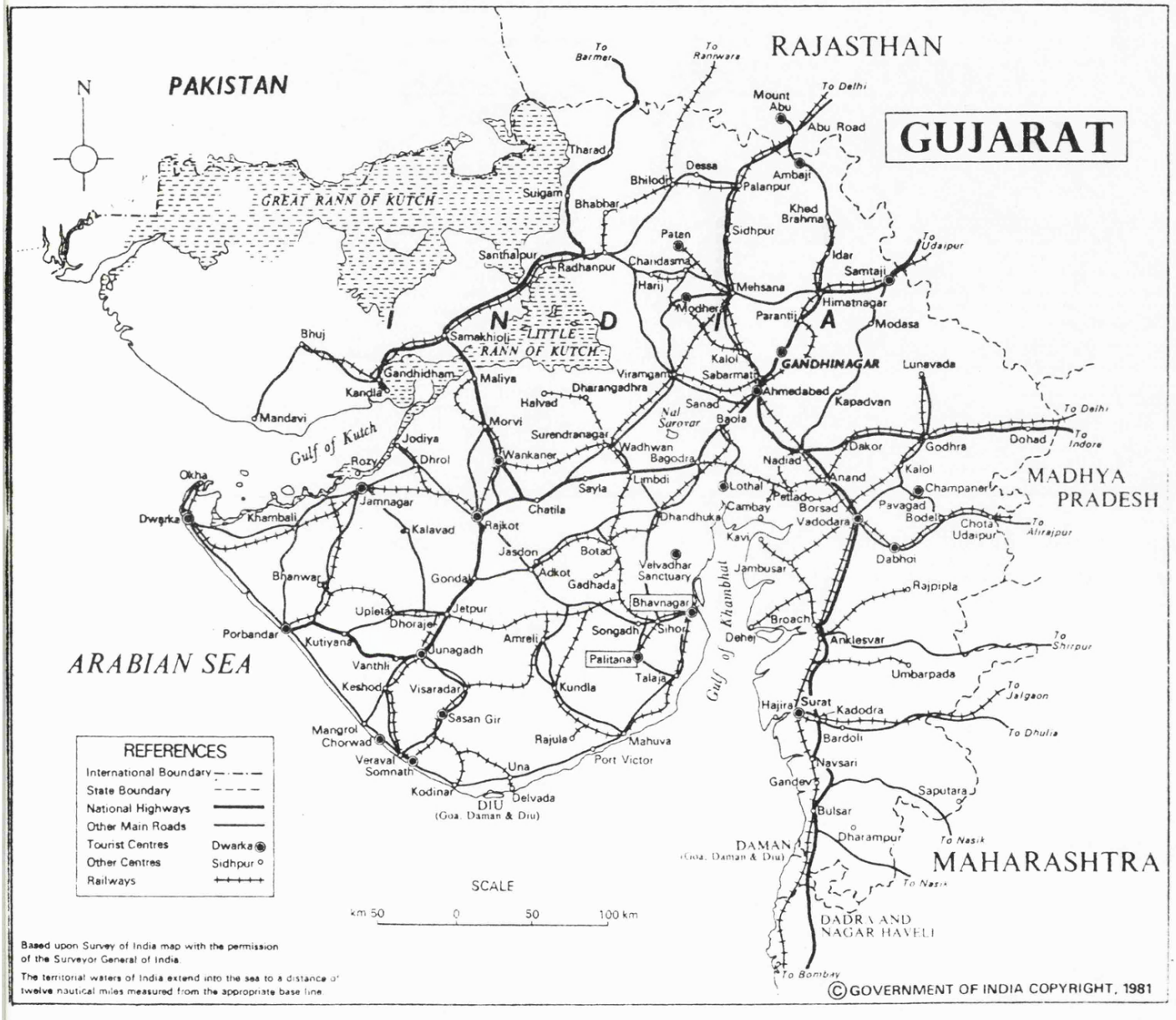
Studies in India suggest that food is an instrument with which groups can claim higher status in the social hierarchy (Lannoy, 1975; Douglas, 1967). Hence, members of a low caste would abandon meat eating to become 'sanskritized'[3]. In Gujarat, for example, community rules about marriage were extremely lax amongst Patidars during the first half of the nineteenth century. Widow remarriage was practised and meat was eaten. Later, when Patidars began to claim to be racially pure, these practices were substituted for higher ones (Hardiman, 1981). Goody (1982) observed that in the process of social change endogamy rules persist whereas commensality rules are abandoned. In other words, people of different castes would interdine but not inter-marry. This observation bears some resemblance to situations such as prevail in Britain, for only a small number of Asians (Gujaratis included) intermarry with the indigenous population (cf. Brown, 1982), whereas interdining is not uncommon.

The situation in East Africa, where Asians were in a minority, has even closer resemblance to that in Britain. According to Bharati (1972) East African Hindus did not share food with lower caste people and yet they employed African cooks. This possibly suggests that the contact of non-Hindus did not render the food inappropriate for consumption. Nevertheless, at a festival time African servants were not allowed to walk between the lines of men and women (pangat) who sat to the ritual meal. Bharati also adds that "Muslims, Europeans and even Africans would be invited to partake the food, but not in the ritualistic feeding zone" (1972: 33). So, Hindus in East Africa (most of whom came from Gujarat) were willing to interdine with non-Hindus under certain conditions. The purity rules that were observed concerning the partaking of food obliged the Hindus, and separate regulations guided sharing of food with non-Hindus.

In Britain, rules that relate to purity have been further eroded and the partaking of food is no longer guided by religious injunctions (with some exceptions). In such a situation Gujaratis may be less inhibited about adopting new foods but only a careful examination can reveal whether, or to what extent, the social meaning of food, in particular its association with social status, has changed in response to a new environment.

In order to establish a base line with which to compare the Gujarati cuisine in Britain, the following outlines the traditional Gujarati cuisine, as discerned from observations in Gujarat.

MAP 3*



*Khambali in the map is Jamkhambhalia in the text.

The Traditional Gujarati Cuisine

Background to the Observations

The traditional cuisine referred to in this outline applies mainly to the middle castes. There is little reference to low castes or to the highest caste, the Brahmin. Observations in Gujarat were conducted mainly in Rajkot and Jamkhambhalia, and also in Porbandar and Baroda (see map on the opposite page). Apart from the family in Baroda the families were related, and all the families had relatives in Harrow and in other parts of north London. The fact that the family in Baroda returned to Gujarat from East Africa (though some twenty years back) provided an opportunity to examine the attitudes of their Indian born relatives towards them. Hence, the observations in Gujarat were not concerned solely with food, and I have referred to these families in other parts of the thesis.

Though the cuisine in Gujarat is used as a model for the traditional cuisine, changes continually take place. The use of wheat and rice, now major staple foods, has become more common in the last century. And, table manners have changed alongside modifications in the preparation and serving of food. Changes are more conspicuous in big cities where manufactured foods are more prevalent, but even there only the upper-middle classes can afford to purchase them or to frequent restaurants that by now serve a wide variety of foods. The prevalence of fast food, to judge by newspaper reports (for example, Shiveshwar, 1984), is probably much

exaggerated. Grain and pulses are still bought in bulk, and food is made fresh daily from vegetables that are either bought in central vegetable market, from a street hawker or a nearby grocer. All milk products are prepared at home.

It appears therefore that the cuisine in Gujarat is the closest approximation to the cuisine which existed at the time when Gujarati migrants left for East Africa. This is the cuisine with which East African Gujaratis were most familiar. Many visited and still visit Gujarat. I therefore refer to this cuisine as traditional, and changes in Britain are defined in relation to the cuisine described in the following section.

The Traditional Cuisine

The daily intake of food consists of three meals, and having snacks is mainly reserved for entertaining guests.

Savoury foods, such as sev and chevda are often served to guests together with sweets. Sweet and savoury foods may be served together, at any meal, as there is no dichotomy between salt and sugar, such as exists in the British cuisine (cf. Douglas and Gross, 1981). These foods also constitute snacks because they are 'self contained' and can be taken on their own. In Britain one manufacturer of chevda appropriately summed its double function with the catch phrase 'eat as a snack, serve as a meal'.

Water used to be the most common drink (cf. Padfield, 1908). Water is nowadays taken at every meal, but fizzy drinks such as Dixi-Cola may be taken with snacks. These are expensive drinks that most families cannot ordinarily afford, but they increasingly become popular. Their association with western life style is probably the most important single factor in their growing popularity, and manufacturers therefore try to promote them as 'the real thing'.

Tea is another popular beverage and its preparation in Gujarat has undergone some modifications since milk became a marketable commodity. Farmers cut down the quantity of milk and tea is thus made with equal quantities of milk and water which are boiled with tea leaves and masala (a mixture of cinammon, clove, cardamon, ginger and black pepper). Most people drink sweetened tea. This is the beverage to which Gujaratis in Britain now refer as 'Indian tea' (Tambs-Lyche, 1980:111). In Gujarat it is simply referred to as 'tea'.

One can observe in north India three distinct types of breakfast. The villagers and the poor in Gujarat would normally have, apart from tea, rotla or bhakri, that is, different kinds of bread made of bajri (spiked millet). City dwellers (that is, inhabitants of middle-range cities) eat rotli, puri, or paratha, all made from wheat. Both rice and wheat enjoy a higher status than bajri (cf. Goody, 1982). In Gujarat, where bajri and juar (another kind of millet) are the main crops, wheat and rice, which grow in other parts of India, are also more expensive and are therefore reserved mainly for the more affluent city dwellers.

Alongside the bread, gantia or chevda may be served. Both are deep fried but the first is more often eaten fresh, and all breads are served immediately after preparation (cf. James, 1974). Bread is therefore the last item to be prepared. No bread from the previous day is served, or it would be served alongside fresh bread. Old bread would sometimes be cut into small pieces (to make tarali rotli), or merely heated or fried.

In cities such as Bombay or New Delhi, but also amongst the more affluent families in Gujarat, bread or toast may be served for breakfast, together with jam, butter and hard cheese. These are mostly taken with tea. These manufactured products are expensive, partly because they are distributed in small size packages. Commercially baked bread is usually made from white flour and separating the bran from the flour increases its cost. It is a relatively new commodity in Gujarat and in the beginning of the century it was available in bigger cities, such as Baroda (cf. Desai, 1911).

With regard to table manners (a term which is somewhat inappropriate in this context), eating on the floor is the rule but the more affluent do take at least one meal at a table. This leads to minor changes in the manners of taking food. When eating is conducted on the floor level the thali, a stainless steel tray on which food is laid, provides an enclosed space, protected from the floor. With the move to the table it is no longer necessary to create a protected space and thalis are then more likely to be replaced by plates. Sitting at the table is more common at breakfast, a meal which is not

taken by all the family members at the same time. Since breakfast is the least social of the food events, some people would say that they have no breakfast, by which they mean that the quantity of the food, as well as the circumstances of taking it, cannot describe this food event as a meal. It should be noted that breakfast became common (at least in some parts of India) at the turn of the century. Till then the Indian diet included two meals, and therefore dinner was taken earlier than midday (Padfield, 1908:140-141). The poor could not afford to have breakfast and leftover food (mainly, cold rice) was taken for this meal.

In Jamkhambhalia it was observed that the men started the day with bajri-made rotla while the women ate bread made of wheat. This difference clearly marks a shift towards the urban cuisine (rotli is already taken for dinner and supper), which is perhaps a result of a situation where the daughters are expected to leave this small town upon marriage and settle where the custom is to eat rotli. Three of the daughters who married left Jamkhambhalia (one married an East African Asian and moved to Harrow; one moved to Rajkot and the youngest moved to Jinja, Kenya). Their mother, like the male members of the family, ate bajri-made bread for breakfast.

It seems not only that families were aware of different food habits inside Gujarat but also that the young were socialized according to their perceived social status in the future. In this case it appears that socialisation was not merely concerned with replicating the food habits of the older generation.

Dinner among urban families and the more affluent villagers is the most intricate meal. The following dishes always appear at dinner: bread, shak (lit. vegetables), dhal (split pulse), rice (bhat), and buttermilk (chas). Raw vegetables are also served; onion or carrot are cut into small pieces and served in a small stainless steel bowl, and so are the pickles and chutneys, which are always home made. As all cooking is conducted more or less at the same time a paraffin cooker may be used in addition to the gas cooker. In the past, all food was cooked on a sagadi, where pans were put on the top, only slightly above the burning wood. Sagadi is still being used and the food cooked on it, so Gujaratis hold, yield better results. It should be noted that some Gujaratis (mostly old family members) in Harrow use the sagadi and also that some prefer to use a griddle made of clay, rather than the more 'modern' iron griddle. Again, the reason given for using this griddle, which tends to break easily, is that the result is tastier. Gujaratis take pride in such old customs, for these suggest that they have not succumbed to the comforts of new implements.

Dinner is served in two stages. All the dishes mentioned above, apart from rice and dhal (known in colloquial language as dhalbhat) constitute the first stage, and each family member can have a second or more servings. The cooks know exactly how many rotlis each member of the family takes and prod them to take more food. All food is eaten with the right hand as the left hand is considered to be impure. At the first stage rotli or puri are the means by which shak is handled. Bread can therefore be said to be an instrument and its dryness is balanced by

the wet shak (some shaks are dry, i.e cooked without additional liquids). Similarly the dry rice, devoid of any spices, is complimented with the wet, spicy, dhal. The taking of the dhalbhat (alternatively, khadi may replace the dhal) clearly marks a separate phase, as these are taken after the rest of the food is consumed[4].

Apparently, this second phase is what distinguishes dinner from supper, which is a one phase meal. The rules that govern the main meal rigidly dictate a certain sequence. There is more scope for creativity in the first phase since more than one shak may be prepared and also other dishes. When two shaks are served, one of them tends to be made from potatoes and peas, or from potatoes alone. These are the most popular shaks. Other shaks, e.g karela shak (karela is a bitter gourd that reduces the level of sugar in the blood and is therefore more popular with elderly people; Abraham, 1982a:27) are rarely served on their own. Though the word shak literally means vegetables, the result of cooking pulses in the same fashion is also called shak. Hence, the preparation of shak refers to a mode of cooking that begins with frying the spices, rather than to the content of the dish.

The option of selecting any dish, including left-over food, for the minor meal gives it more latitude. There is greater variation in the types of bred prepared, e.g pudla (made like western type pancakes). Khichadi is considered to be a suitable dish for supper, which is meant to be lighter, i.e of lower fat content, than dinner. It is not cooked with ghee as ghee is added individually. Its ingredients combine those of shak and rice, as it is

made from mung beans and choka (uncooked rice) which are cooked in water on a low fire. The wet of the ghee balances this otherwise dry food which, more than any other food, can be said to constitute a full meal in itself. There are numerous other dishes that are prepared for supper, e.g deep-fried bhajia, all of which can supplement the main meal. Some leftover food may be consumed the next day.

Gujaratis are well known for having a 'sweet tooth', probably because of the wide variety of sweets they prepare. In fact, sugar is added to savoury dishes such as shak or khadi. However, neither in Gujarat nor in Britain are sweets prepared regularly, and it seems that children are most prone to demonstrate an unreserved liking for them. The preparation of sweets is regarded as labour intensive, and they are now purchased from the mithaiwalla (sweets vendor) who specializes in making them. Festivals are the most appropriate occasions for the consumption of sweets, which are bought in large quantities to cater for guests who may 'drop in'. Where milk was used in the past for the preparation of, for instance, barfi, milk powder has proved to be a convenient substitution. The high sugar content of most sweets (sometimes in the form of gol, made from sugar cane) relates to the fact that eggs cannot be used as a binding agent, since most people do not eat eggs. However, the sugar content of most sweets is not higher than that in chocolate. Chocolate is now produced commercially in Gujarat and new chocolate-coated sweets have been introduced by mithaiwallas. In

Britain these kinds of sweets are common. Both in India and Britain sweets are expensive foods, particularly if they are not made at home.

In summary, it seems that as much as the basic features of the cuisine in Gujarat have remained stable over a long period, new products are introduced which then lead (so far) to minor modifications. This process continues alongside a growing delocalisation of food production and is further encouraged by the need to save time. That is, foods that were previously made at home, e.g sweets, are now made commercially, and new implements, e.g pressure cooker, are used to facilitate an otherwise laborious routine that requires the full attention of at least one adult female. Against this background it seems that the cuisine of overseas Gujaratis can be better understood. All cuisines can ultimately incorporate only a limited number of new foods without undergoing a more radical change. Whereas modifications in Gujarat are incremental, in western countries the range of foods that are available to Gujarati migrants is considerably larger, and there are labour saving devices that can further shorten the task of preparation.

Since the baseline cuisine has now been described, the following will concentrate on changes that have taken place.

The British-Gujarati Cuisine

Before describing the cuisine of Gujaratis in Britain it ought to be made clear that the findings below are confined to a particular period. Abraham (1982b) predicts that Gujaratis may radically change their food habits in the coming decade. In view of the influences to which the generation born and educated in Britain are exposed, this prediction may well apply to them. This outline applies only to the migrant generation, mainly to the younger age group, between 20-40 years of age.

Prior to the 1980s scholars have paid negligible attention to the diets of migrants, and few records are available of the diets of Asians who arrived in Britain before the 1970s. In the 1960s it was perceived that the Indian cuisine was a dominant feature of the migrants' culture:

> Food habits are perhaps the most distinctive of Indian features (after skin colour), and are in some cases more objectionable to the host society than skin colour (Desai, 1963:13).

Desai then goes further to suggest that the consumption of traditional food "provide a symbolic link with Gujarat". Early accounts of migrants' food habits would have been immensely helpful, for in the early 1960s Indian grocery shops were scarce and Gujaratis undoubtedly had to make some adjustments which are no longer required. The comprehensive account by Hunt (1977) of the diet of Ugandan expellees, one of the few existing records on the diet of migrants in the period immediately after arrival (see also Carlson, 1982), is therefore instrumental to any analysis of the changes which the diets of Asians in Britain have undergone.

Hunt (1977) examined the administration of food in two camps to which Ugandan Asians were transferred upon arriving in Britain. This set-up not only provided an opportunity to examine the response of Asians to a standardized catering service, but also allowed a unique insight into the attitudes of the hosts. For example, in the reception centres of Greenham Common and West Malling, Brahmins were permitted to cook in their living quarters, although using paraffin stoves was generally prohibited. While attempts were made to understand and respond to the particular preferences of the arrivals, some Asians felt that the food was unpalatable and demanded that standards be improved.

Hunt later examined a smaller sample of expellees who were by then settled in the community. The most noticeable change was the move away from consuming all meals at home, which was the custom in Uganda. Supper became the main meal, while breakfast became a smaller meal in Britain, composed largely of convenience foods. Within meals, staples were more resistant to change than peripheral food, and there was a general reduction in the number of peripheral foods. All the participants in the original sample, excluding Goans (who are mostly Christian), showed a reluctance to eat most of the proscribed food, but school children and those in employment showed great readiness to change. The old and the poorly educated had the highest resistance to change.

In our case, the population whose food habits were studied was less varied, at least in terms of

religious affiliation. Though Hindu Gujaratis originate from different parts of Gujarat and belong to different castes, the variations - in terms of the structure of meals as well as their content - is not significantly different. There were some Gujaratis who, for example, kept to annual events such as preparing papdi (thin bread that is cooked, fried and then dried in the sun) whereas others altered their diets considerably, but most families were neither strictly traditional in their food consumption nor did they change their food habits radically. The latter were mostly the more affluent, well-travelled, Gujaratis who employed British helpers and frequented up-market restaurants. It should be noted that the following does not apply to these Gujaratis.

The majority of the women interviewed at Northwick Park Hospital (for details on the sample see pp. 340-344) had lived in Harrow for five or more years, and fewer than 50 per cent had been married for more than 5 years. Some women thus lived in the area prior to their marriage and were therefore likely to have relatives in this part of London. Most of the interviewees at the hospital did not belong to what may be termed the upper middle-class, i.e those who lived in detached houses, or had two or more cars. The majority of the families lived in semi-detached houses with five or more rooms. They owned their homes and were likely to own a car.

It was mentioned earlier that financial constraints influence decision making in the area of food. This certainly applies to families who consume meat or fish

and to a certain extent also to other families, and yet these constraints are unlikely to influence the overall intricacy of the Gujarati cuisine described here. Douglas argues that there is no reason to suppose that households with huge financial resources necessarily arrange their food more intricately (Douglas, 1981:23), and though this observation may not apply in all cases it illustrates the point that the intricacy of a cuisine is culturally determined. Hence, though the following does not elaborate on financial constraints it seems sensible to assume that these do not constitute major factors in the modification of the food practices of middle class Gujaratis.

The Daily Intake of Food

With regard to breakfast, it seems that convenience foods are now a common feature of this meal. Their incorporation can be interpreted in different ways and the following analysis attempts to reach an interpretation which is consistent with both the observations and evidence on the changes that have taken place in the British cuisine.

Only 7.5 per cent of the women said that they did not have breakfast. The majority of women said that they drank Indian tea, and a fifth drank milk. Hunt (1977) observed that half of the Ugandan Asians in her sample drank milk as a bed-time snack, a fact which suggests that the habit is not confined to pregnancy. Only one woman in my sample had English tea and not even

one had coffee. Only 4 per cent of the women ate breakfast in the traditional Gujarati fashion, but around a quarter listed food items that, put together, are best described as a combination of Indian and British food. The majority of women, about 70 per cent, had either toast and marmalade or milk and cereal.

One hypothesis has to be looked into to weigh the significance of the transition from a traditional meal to a more 'westernized' one. According to this hypothesis there are recurring patterns, or even one single principle, that are manifest in all food events[5]. Novelties that are being introduced do not alter these patterns (Douglas, 1982:99). Gujaratis do not employ a sweet-savoury dichotomy and therefore sweet food, e.g marmalade, may be taken alongside savoury food, e.g chevda. This principle is also manifest through the content of the common Gujarati snack.

Snacks consist almost invariably of chevda or gantia, which are served with sweet biscuits and tea. Hence, the Gujarati snack which has been previously described has now accommodated a new item, one which does not infringe the principle of mixing savoury with sweet food.

It should also be noted that this snack appears in conferences and on various other occasions, some of which are more formal than the taking of a snack at home. Whereas coffee is often served when the attendants are not necessarily Asian, only tea is served when all the attendants are likely to be Asian. Though these novelties may appear as minor changes, these food events

reveal some fundamental features on the course of change. First, traditional foods can be comfortably combined with non-traditional ones in one and the same meal with no obvious segregation. The fact that non-traditional elements are commonly consumed for breakfast is largely due to convenience. The second fundamental feature is the modernisation of traditional modes of cooking and food management.

As far as snacks are concerned, chevda and the like have become less exclusively 'Indian'. Though they are not distributed by supermarket chains, most food shops in north London stock at least one kind of chevda. In health food shops they appear in the form of 'Bombay mix' (a name which suggests affinity to India) and may be sold either loose or in cellophane packages. This food has been 'promoted' by Asians and its popularity is still growing amongst non-Indians. These dry snacks are not only 'convenient' as far as their availability is concerned; they can be stored in large quantities and are also ready for consumption without any preparation.

Neither the composition of breakfast, nor that of snack, indicate that the course of change is towards adopting British food habits.

Biscuits are a common snack food throughout the world. The price of biscuits in Britain is much lower than ready-made Indian sweets and their shelf life is longer. The most popular biscuits amongst Gujaratis are plain, of the kind that closely resemble the biscuits available in Gujarat. Indeed, combining biscuit and chevda snack is not unknown in Gujarat, but - on the whole - biscuits are not a commodity often used. This new

variation of snacks represents only a minimal concession to British food habits, and so do new foods that have been incororated into breakfast. Indeed, considering the variety of British breakfasts, that would have been almost an impossible task.

Since the invention of most of the basic types of processed cereals, in the late 1890s, they have altered eating habits in many parts of the world. After the First World War cereals spread to Britain and pushed aside porridge and other breakfast foods. The products of Kellogs company, which dominate the cereal market (Moore Lappe and Collins, 1982:237) have now reached rural areas throughout the Third World, including India.

As to beverages, only after the Second World War did coffee begin to replace tea. Coffee is still associated with the affluent classes and advertisers often cash in on this association to promote either instant or 'real' coffee made of roasted coffee beans. Robertson (1982) adds that, considering the variety of foods eaten in Britain for breakfast, there are marked differences between sexes, social classes and regions. For example, cooked breakfast is much more common in the south than in the Midlands and the north of England.

However, Gujaratis have not taken to breakfasts which are closely associated with British traditional cuisine. These are more labour intensive and much higher in saturated fats because of their meat content. These foods, e.g baked beans, are, however, taken for lunch. Gujaratis have not taken to porridge either, though its texture and consistency are not unfamiliar to them. It

therefore seems that both the Gujarati and the British breakfast are changing to include convenience foods which require little preparation.

The popularity of rotlis as breakfast food has little to do with its being a traditional food. Rather, rotlis have been gradually established as food which is no less convenient to use than baked beans. A wide variety of Indian ready made breads are now becoming popular. Some women consider buying rotlis sacrilege, if only for their high cost, and yet even general grocery stores now stock them. Women would rather freeze rotlis and defrost them when the need arises and this further reinforces the point that convenience is a major consideration. Moreover, freezing means that labour intensive foods become convenient and that housewives can now plan their cooking schedule in ways virtually unknown in Gujarat.

The importance of this change cannot be overemphasized, for freezing completely breaks the association of traditional modes of cooking with hard labour. Whereas in Gujarat many women now use pressure cookers to shorten the preparation of food, in Britain Gujarati women freeze those dishes whose qualities are unaffected by freezing. This applies mainly to the main meal. Examining the changes in this meal will further show that these cannot be spelt out in assimilative terms. This is an important point to establish for otherwise the discussion remains within the realms of the more common assumption that migrants' diets follow a linear process of change. That is, when migrants adopt new foods this has been a sign that they have embarked on a process which will eventually lead to

embracing the indigenous diet.

In 47 cases, rotli and shak were prepared daily, but not dhalbhat. Upon asking the interviewees about the content of the main meal consumed on the day before the interview, 37 described a traditional Gujarati meal. In another 7 cases a non-Gujarati ingredient was introduced, such as salad dressing or cakes. Only in 3 cases was the meal entirely made of non-Gujarati food. Such meals either comprised processed foods, e.g hamburgers, or freshly made non-Gujarati dishes, e.g omelette.

A closer look at the structure of this meal revealed that a fundamental change has taken place, one which cannot be discerned by simply examining its ingredients. A new structure has emerged, where the second phase - consisting of dhalbhat - has been omitted. This considerably cuts the number of dishes which have to be prepared for the main meal, and it is rather expected that dhalbhat, which in themselves do not constitute a meal, would be less resistant to change than the phase which include bread, the staple food par excellence of the Gujarati diet. It is difficult to assess precisely the prevalence of this new structure but it has certainly become a legitimate structure of a main meal, one which coexists alongside the old.

The content of the minor meal has also changed. Women who now eat on their own or with their children at lunchtime may take leftover food, and if children demand they would prepare, for instance, fish fingers and chips. They are much more likely to prepare lunch which resembles the traditional Gujarati supper if their husbands come

home for lunch or if, for example, the family lives above the premises of their business. In short, there is much more latitude in lunch, and it is even more versatile if one considers the food taken in canteens or taken from home (mostly sandwich and fruit). Clearly, this is the meal where individual members of the Gujarati household can fully exercise their own preference.

Now that the main meal has been released from the constraints imposed by a two phased structure, it has the same constraints as the minor meal. And, since lunch is less traditional, its dishes may later be 'upgraded' and be accepted in the major meal. In other words, this structural change now allows for changes in content to take place.

The change in the structure of the main meal has been a gradual one. The clear-cut two phase structure begins to erode when, for example, dhalbhat can be taken with rotli or when rice is mixed with shak. Once the dry rice is mixed with the wet shak it is no longer necessary to prepare dhal. Hence, dhal is omitted first and rice is omitted later. The result, however, is a meal which allows the incorporation of non-traditional food. On the basis of this new structure, which has been considerably simplified, it is now possible, for example, that Gujaratis will develop the concept of a course, in the western sense, and this will eventually lead, for example, to the introduction of sweets at the end of the meal. Nevertheless, these changes cannot be said to be directly related to the British environment, and therefore other

structures may emerge. The change is partly a result of the necessity, due to constraints of time, to prepare smaller number of dishes. Gujaratisare now aware of their calorie intake but it is difficult to say whether this has any noticeable affect on the number of dishes that are being prepared. The concluding part, which takes a broader view of the changes that have taken place in the management of food, will further elaborate on the meaning of these modifications.

Conclusions

Using the cuisine in Gujarat as a baseline helped to illustrate some trends in the food habits of Gujaratis in Britain. It has become evident that meals which from a nutritional point of view may be static are in fact undergoing a process of change. That is, at present it appears that the structural change in the main meal has not dramatically affected the variety of foods that are regularly prepared. The cuisine of Gujaratis in Britain still consists mainly of traditional items, although in different permutations in comparison to the traditional cuisine. The modes of preparation also remain Gujarati in essence and no alternative cooking techniques (for example, those that require the use of an oven) have supplemented the traditional ones.

Throughout this process of change young children, more than any other members of the household, assume a role of 'agents of change'. This role is not confined to children of ethnic minorities, as children are generally

keen on processed foods, fizzy drinks and sweets (cf. Rousseau, 1983) and thus introduce families to foods which otherwise might not be found in the home. The introduction of processed foods, however, does not lead to greater cognisance of cooking techniques.

In the future it should be expected that food habits of Gujaratis continue to change, yet it is difficult to foresee a radical departure from the current scheme of utilizing food. That is, there are no obvious incentives to induce more changes in addition to those which have already taken place. It seems more likely that a Gujarati cuisine, peculiar to Britain, will continue to develop. This will be a cuisine where ingredients such as vermicelli, to which various sauces may be added, will be experimented with to yield foods whose taste is almost similar to Gujarati food, and where, to give another example, more creativity will be put in the preparation of salads, which so far have consisted of one or two vegetables.

Little has been said until now on the role of food in group identity formation and its relevance to the creation of demarcation lines within the Gujarati population. Attitudes were put aside and so were food events other than the taking of meals at home. All these were put aside to examine the ways in which foods were utilized, and only now it is possible to expand on its social functions in the maintenance of a distinct identity.

To illustrate that food is crucial to creating intimate relationships Pocock (1957:297) cites an informant who reasoned the advantages of marrying within his own

caste on the ground of similarity in the preparation of food. Only women of his caste, the informant explained, were acquainted with preparing rice in a manner peculiar to his caste. He thus advocated caste endogamy on new, secular ground.

Explanations not entirely different are often given by Gujaratis in Harrow with regard to the entire Gujarati community, rather than to specific castes. Though many possess a well defined classification of various Gujarati cuisines, they reckon that the similarities outweigh the differences. They speak of 'our food' as against 'their' British food. Hence, whereas in the past food defined enclosures of various sections of the Gujarati society, in Britain its function in this respect has changed and it now has become yet another vehicle for consolidating a distinct identity.

In conferences, festivals, weddings and on numerous other occasions, the same foods appear, with only minor variations. There are always some kind of sweet and savoury snacks, bread, two shaks, and dhalbhat. These are prepared by Gujarati caterers and are always laid in a buffet style in the order above. Hence, differences in home cooking do not bar Gujaratis from interdinining and enjoying the same foods.

Indeed, similarities between cuisines, as the following example demonstrates, provide a meeting point which then develops into intimate relationships between groups. LaBrack and Leonard (1984) show that the similarity between the Punjabi and the Mexican cuisines

(amongst other cultural similarities) encouraged Punjabi men in California to take Mexican wives. According to their account Punjabi men insisted upon their wives learning how to make roti (the Punjabi version of unleavened bread) as well as other Punjabi foods. They cooked these foods themselves in order to teach their wives and also cooked ceremonial meals at the gurudwara (the Sikhs' place of worship) and on certain birthdays or martyrdom days of the Gurus. This kind of similarity exists in Britain only between Asian minorities, and this example also illustrates that religious observance bars outsiders from full participation in the life of the group concerned.

Also amongst Gujaratis religious observance is related to certain food practices. Only Gujarati, that is, traditional food, is appropriate for religious occasions, including circumstances which have ritual significance. In one Gujarati home in Harrow, for instance, only traditional food was blessed before consumption by family members. In another home, a mother who had just given birth received kantlo, a sweet prepared especially for the occasion. Regarding the association of food with religious observance, Williams goes further to suggest that:

> The identification of Gujarati dishes as sacred food appropriate for devotees and the resulting difficulty of inter-dining effectively separate members from full association with members of the host society (1984:191).

This assumes that the functions of religious observance are confined to a sphere which is divorced from the

secular, and also that it is upon the ethnic group to become full members of the host society. Similarly, Williams concluded that - since the Gujarati language is taught at temples - it is "rapidly becoming a sacred language" (1984:191). Yet religious adherence, of which the partaking of food is an integral part, has cardinal social functions. Indeed, the partaking of food, all blessed by the Brahmins, reaffirms the religious identity of the devotees as Hindus, as much as the use of the Gujarati language strengthens their identity as Gujaratis. However, neither the Gujarati language nor Gujarati food become sacred merely because of their associations with religious observance.

It should be emphasized that non-Gujaratis are normally allowed to take part in religious ceremonies and share the food prepared on these occasions. They are welcomed to satsangs that are conducted in private homes, in temples and community centres. Asians and non-Asians alike are invited to social occasions that are more loosely associated with religious observance, e.g the Cultural Festival in India. Williams himself mentions that the Swaminarayans have western devotees and this observation does not support the quotation above. It therefore cannot be said that religious observance imposes restrictions that bar devotees from full membership in society.

The social role of food is manifest mainly in the get-togethers of kinfold during weekends, occasions when cooking is conducted by all the attending adult females.

Cooking becomes on these occasions a pastime, a leisure activity devoid of constraints of time. The main meal is taken later than mid-day and is the most elaborate meal prepared throughout the week. Whereas women are occupied with the preparation, the men chat in the adjacent room and wait patiently for the food to arrive. The partaking of food solidifies the bonds between family members, and it was mentioned elsewhere in the thesis that Sundays are solely devoted to family gatherings and attending weddings.

Nevertheless, the fact that sharing food is utilized to cement relationships does not imply that Gujaratis wish to segregate themselves. Rather, their food behaviour emphasizes a theme that has recurred throughout the thesis, namely, that Gujaratis desire to adapt to the British society - on their own terms. The wish to retain a distinct identity neither bars non-Gujaratis from participation in social and religious gatherings, nor Gujaratis avoid sharing food with members of the host society 'on their own ground'. When inviting non-Gujaratis to their homes, Gujaratis often enquire whether the guest observes any specific restriction and also whether he or she can take spicy food. Yet they would, almost without exception, prepare Gujarati food.

Whereas their own food has to be made 'properly', no such restrictions are imposed on non-traditional food, and Gujaratis employ different criteria to judge their own food against that of other cuisine. They 'borrow' certain new food practices but do not feel obliged to

imitate them. In other words, they wish to preserve the traditional cuisine, but not at all cost. They demonstrate great flexibility when taking food outside the home, but in the privacy of their own homes - particularly in large gatherings - no concessions are made to the indigenous cuisine. This is not merely because, as Helman suggests, "dietary beliefs and practices are notoriously difficult to change" (1985:23). This kind of conservatism is better understood in the context of their position and relationships with the host society.

The British cuisine, the food habits of the host society, are seen by Gujaratis to be entirely different from their own. Because of the extensive use of manufactured foods Gujaratis tend to think that there is no such thing as 'British food'. In addition, the lack of spices, which are indispensible in Gujarati cooking, and the cooking techniques, e.g boiling, are alienate to their perception of what makes edible substance into food. British food is regarded as tasteless and is therefore unattractive to them. In this situation the Gujarati home has now become the only place where 'proper' Gujarati food can be obtained. It should be noted that food prepared in Indian restaurants is not seen as genuine food of any kind, but rather as food which has been adjusted to suit the British tastes. Curry, for instance, being the most famous Indian dish in Britain, is seen as a dish that bears little resemblance to the original dish. Some Indian restauranteurs, and they are in the minority, regard curry[6] as an adulteration and say that it would never appear in the restaurants' menus. Against this background it would

be better understood why, for example, Gujarati husbands do not encourage their wives to venture with new foods.

Restaurant food, however, is the main channel through which the indigenous population becomes acquainted with Indian cuisines, though by now the consumption of Indian food is not limited to the odd meal at a restaurant. Apart from television series on Indian cooking and numerous books on the subject, most supermarket chains now reserve special space for 'ethnic', mainly Indian and Chinese, food. All these foods, in restaurants or in nicely packed ready-made dishes, do little to acquaint the indigenous population with regional Indian cuisines. This in turn helps indigenous British to divorce restaurant food (which is 'exotic') from the food prepared by their next-door Asians. The latter is 'smelly', 'too spicy' and 'oily'. The prevalence of negative attitudes has not diminished.

Pocock's (1957) use of the phrase 'reciprocal repulsion', initially designed to describe the relationships between castes, seems to be the best description of what may be called the 'food relationships' between Gujaratis and indigenous Britons. Hence, an association of Indian food with the minorities that consume such food is not favourably considered by the food industry, with some exceptions. Since rice, for example, is known to be a cardinal Indian food, advertisements imply that rice which is popular amongst Asians is also the best rice. The assertion above applies mainly to food produced by non-Asian manufacturers. For instance, canned curry sauces available in supermarket chains tend to be Kashmiri or Madrasi

but never Punjabi or Gujarati, and so are all manufactured food, including ready-made dishes. Asian manufacturers simply name their products in the vernacular language and distribute their products in bulk, to reduce the cost. They are also much less concerned with attractive packaging.

Putting aside commercial interests and their influence on the development of a perception of Indian cuisine, it is impossible not to conclude that the attitudes that Britons hold are not connected to the hostility towards Asians. It is difficult to say whether the cuisine of an ethnic minority which suffers hostility is always stigmatized in this fashion, but it seems that the cuisine of an ethnic group of a higher position would not be described in the manner described above. Its cuisine may be labelled merely as 'exotic' or 'strange', without derogatory labels. And, whether or not such labels truly reflect the attitudes towards an ethnic minority, in the case of the Gujaratis this is how they are seen. Gujaratis feel hurt and insulted when their neighbours complain of their 'smelly' food. These stereotypes have to some extent been internalized and some Gujaratis feel inhibited about taking their own food to work. Children are particularly sensitive in this respect.

However, as Gujaratis' sense of identity strengthens, they become less inclined to display their food only for consumption in their immediate surroundings. It is interesting to note, therefore, that Gujaratis never make any concessions, that is, by incorporating non-traditional food, when inviting dignitaries to their functions. Whether

this was the case a decade ago is difficult to say, and in the thesis one occasion is mentioned when Patidars invited the Mayor of Harrow to a wine and cheese party. At present, however, it is difficult to conceive that food other than Gujarati would be served on similar occasions.

In Harrow, they demand that Indian meals-on-wheels be prepared and only Asian cooks are now employed to prepare these foods. Their growing confidence may eventually lead to a growing cognisance of their own cuisine and eventually to the erosion of negative attidudes This is a slow process whose outcomes are difficult to foresee.

Notes (appendix I)

(1) The term diet refers here to the sum total of food items consumed but not to the modes of preparation and table manners. Food habits have been defined in the Manual for the Study of Food Habits (1945) as "the way in which individuals, in response to social and cultural pressures, select, consume, and utilize portions of the available food supply". The term cuisine is more narrow and is used mainly in the context of structured food events (see below).

(2) "Indian language and Indian food", claims Wilson, "are seen by whites as inferior" (1978:91). She observed that in Southall Asian children were teased about their food and that primary school teachers made racist comments about the smells of Indian curry.

(3) Sanskritisation is a process by which low caste or tribe is able to rise to a higher position in the caste hierarchy by adopting vegeterianism, teetotalism and the rituals of the higher castes. In Gujarat this has influenced the life style, food collection and eating habits of several tribes (Gopaldas and others, 1983).

(4) The structure of a meal where dhalbhat are served at the end existed in the turn of the century. Padfield described this phase as follows:

> After the meal, curds are poured over the rice and eaten with suitable pickles or chutneys just as puddings and sweets are in Europe. This dish is always the last one of the meal, and when cakes are eaten, of which there are a great variety, they are taken just before the dish or curd is introduced (Padfield, 1980:138).

(5) Nicod introduced the following terms: food event, structured event, snack and meal. A food event is an occasion where food is taken. A structured event is a social occasion which is organized according to rules prescribing time, place and sequence of actions. If food is taken as a part of a structured event, then the event becomes a meal. A snack is an unstructured food event in which one or more self contained food items may be served (in Douglas and Gross, 1981).

(6) It is difficult to determine precisely how was the term curry incorporated into the English language. According to the "Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language" (Illustrated World Encyclopedia, Inc., New York, 1964), the origin of the term

is in Tamil. The equivalent Bengali dish is called Tarkari and has therefore some resemblance to the word curry.
The definition of curry, in various English dictionaries, associates it with meat. In one dictionary curry is defined as a dish of meat cooked with hot-tasting spices. Whatever the origin of this term in the Indian language, it appears to me unlikely that it was associated with meat in the original.

APPENDIX II

A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

The findings described and analysed in this study were based on several sources of information. Chapter 2 was based mainly on records obtained from Harrow Council concerning the reception of Ugandan Asians, mostly minutes of the forums established to deal with the reception effort, URB circulars, letters and so forth. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were based mainly on participant observation and informant interviewing. This was complemented by examining newspaper coverage of some of the events which I attended. Appendix I was primarily based on a survey conducted in Northwick Park Hospital and participant observation in Harrow and several places in Gujarat. The study, in fact, began with the survey in Northwick Park Hospital and its scope eventually broadened to a study of the Gujarati community in Harrow. Only this part of the study can be said to be well-defined. As I have mentioned earlier, contacts with Gujaratis were made in different ways, out of which some continued for a long period while others were short lived. The second stage of the study was therefore less structured.

Before proceeding to describe the different methods of data gathering employed in this study, I would like to refer to a comment made by Hammersley and Atkinson on this subject:

> The aim is not to gather 'pure' data that are free from potential bias. There is no such thing. Rather, the goal must be to discover the correct manner of interpreting whatever data we have (1983:112).

Similarly, it was evident at a very early stage that data provided by informants was, at least sometimes, far from being 'pure'. At times it was clear that the data provided was inaccurate. Indeed, each stage of the study posed new problems that needed to be resolved. In Gujarat, for example, observations in a few households caused considerable disruption as special arrangements were made to accommodate me. In line with the quotation above, an attempt was made to understand why my visit caused such disruption and how the answer to this question was related to the material gathered at the time and that which had been gathered previously.

As a possible remedy to these problems Hammersley and Atkinson suggest that one should not rely on a single piece of data and that, if diverse kinds of data lead to the same conclusion, "one can be a little more confident in the conclusion" (1983:198). Yet in a research situation one rarely draws any conclusion on the basis of single piece of data since reaching conclusions is a slow process, in which several sets of inference are considered simultaneously. As far as possible, I tried to draw on evidence that could be cross-checked rather than base my analysis on informants' construction of past events. Even so, it seemed almost impossible to weed out all sources of errors and arrive at categorically certain conclusions.

The Northwick Park Hospital Survey

The preliminary intention which led to my approaching Northwick Park Hospital was to find a setting appropriate for studying the food habits of an Asian minority. Examination of existing literature on the subject showed that Asian minorities differed in their diets, either because of dietary taboos or because they originally came from different regions in the Indian sub-continent. It thus seemed feasible to study only one Asian minority, and - since Harrow was predominantly a Gujarati area - the choice seemed natural to study the Gujarati population.

Considering samples from the adult Gujarati population had two purposes. The first was to become acquainted with this particular community, and the second was to gain and present an adequate description of the Gujaratis' food habits. The interview schedule that was later used in the ante-natal clinic at the hospital followed these guidelines. The first part of the interview was composed of questions related to the interviewees' background, and questions were asked about migration, housing, employment and various other topics. The second part concentrated solely on food habits. Not all the findings were used in the thesis, partly because some of the answers given by the interviewees did not produce the expected results. For example, when some women of the Swaminarayan sect were asked what religion they practised, they said that they were Hindus. It was discovered only later that if the question, in this case, had been 'what is your god' the answer might have proved more

satisfactory since Jains, Swaminarayans and Hindus worship different gods. As it was, 20 per cent of the women said that they were Jain, 8 per cent said that they were Swaminarayan and the remainder said they were Hindu.

The findings were valuable in that they pointed to certain issues which needed to be examined. For example, the fact that the proportion of women from India was higher than that of the males, combined with the fact that the majority of couples were not born in the same country, possibly suggested that a large proportion of marriages were arranged. That is, while some findings did not provide reliable statistical data as such, they inspired certain questions that were worth following.

The only segment of the healthy Gujarati population that regularly frequented the hospital (though for a short period) was that of pregnant women. The option of selecting cases for investigation from this population had to be measured against other alternatives, mainly drawing a sample from a list of Gujarati names extracted from the Electoral Register. The inaccuracies which this method entails are several:

a. Some Asians have anglicized names (Anwar, 1986).
b. Hindu-Gujarati names are not distinguishable from names of other Asians, particularly non-Hindu Gujarati names.
c. The refusal rate may be high.
d. Not all Asians appear on the Register.

Towards the end of the 1970s registration drives among some ethnic minorities were organized (Crewe, 1983),

but disproportionate under-registration remained among Asians. Anwar (1986) reported that by the 1980s 21 per cent were not yet registered.

It was discovered only in the later stages of the research that had the Electoral Register been used for interviewing women, rather than men, the refusal rate might have been even higher. When households of the interviewees were subsequently visited, the male members tended not to co-operate, and were not inclined to talk about food or other subjects. Female members of households, however, were co-operative when I was introduced to them by their husbands.

Interviewing pregnant women meant that the sample represented only the fertile Gujarati families, i.e the younger bracket of the population, mostly under the age of 40. This in itself was not perceived as a disadvantage, for these families had young children and the influence of children on food habits could have been investigated only in this situation. It should be acknowledged, however, that pregnancy influenced the diet of the women. In any case, it was not perceived that data collected from the survey could have yielded a comprehensive description of the Gujarati diet. And, since I was not yet as adequately acquainted with the Gujarati diet as I aimed to be, the questions asked were bound to reflect this. It was decided, therefore, to approach some of the women and enquire about the possibility of visiting them and observing food preparation and consumption.

There were a few other considerations that had to be taken into account in designing the interviews, concerning in the main the length of the interview and the language difficulties that the interviewees might face. The interview was limited to 30-35 minutes so as not to discourage women from participation, and a Gujarati teacher helped to construct the questions in English so that most women would be able to understand the questions and answer them in English. The interview schedule, however, was translated into Gujarati and on a few occasions it was necessary to repeat the questions in Gujarati. On three occasions when this procedure seemed to prolong the interviews, it was suggested that the women be interviewed at home.

The only period during which all pregnant women frequent the ante-natal clinic in the hospital is between 28 to 40 weeks of pregnancy. All of them visit the clinic in their 28th week of pregnancy and it was before this visit that letters were sent to the patients (written both in English and Gujarati), explaining about the research and requesting them to participate. The letter explained to the women the purpose of the research, and made it amply clear that the researcher was not affiliated to the hospital. However, the hospital's allowing this study to be conducted in its premises may have had some influence on the women: only two refused to participate.

The visit in the 28th week seemed the most appropriate time for interviewing also because by that time most pregnant women in employment cease working. If for administrative reasons it was not possible to interview a

patient on this visit, she could still be interviewed in the following visit. The majority of women were interviewed within 4 weeks of being notified of the interview. Out of the 58 women to be interviewed, five women were asked whether they could later be visited at home. Only 2 were visited over a long period, i.e. more than a year. The remaining three women and their families were visited between 3-6 times.

Behaviour in public places in relation to the consumption and kinds of food was also observed on various occasions where other aspects of Gujaratis' communal life were examined: in community centres, temples, satsangs, conferences, weddings, and so on.

Observations in India

To establish the structure of the original diet of Gujaratis, observations were conducted in India between September-November 1984. The purpose of the field study in India was to a certain extent revised, as the field work provided opportunities to examine relationships between the informants in Gujarat and their kin in Britain. Hence, in addition to the daily routine of observations, informants were approached and interviewed on subjects other than originally proposed.

As mentioned above, living with the families meant that I attracted considerable attention and could not manage a 'marginal role' (cf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). Yet these observations were satisfactory because they enabled watching almost every dietary habit and disposition of each

member of the family for a few weeks. This method is advocated by some anthropologists (cf. Douglas, 1982), but is difficult to implement in an urban setting where meals are not invariably consumed at home. Wilson suggests that this technique, i.e "following behind" the individual (Wilson, 1977:63) is particularly useful for studying people who eat much of their food away from home, or are given to frequent snacking. It does not seem feasible, however, to "follow behind" people to their work-place, unless this is repeated many times.

It should be noted, though, that no attempt was made to number and quantify the items consumed by all of a household members at any particular period. This would have been more suitable for a nutrition orientated study. Rather, observations in Harrow and in Gujarat were intended to discern patterns of change in the meal structure. These changes were then examined in a broader context, that is, against changes of food habits in Britain as a whole.

In Gujarat, not being able to speak Gujarati as fluently as I would have liked was a great handicap. Only one family member in Rajkot spoke English, and his English was barely adequate. However, I met English speaking friends or kinfolk almost every day, and talking to them made me realize that there were in fact some advantages to 'silent' observations. Work in the kitchen continued unhindered in my presence, and - as I myself was not expected to participate in the cooking - it was possible to follow closely the daily routine of food purchase, preparation and consumption. Later I found that people who spoke English and were more educated were more concerned about presenting a certain image of

themselves, their families and Indian society as a whole. While it was useful to discuss with them various matters relating to food and other subjects, it was evident that they wished to present themselves as 'progressive', e.g women often preferred to say that they did little work in the kitchen even though they did in fact devote as much time to the preparation of food as less 'progressive' women.

There were some latent advantages to the visit in India, for Gujaratis in Harrow who otherwise were not inclined to co-operate, became after the visit more willing to give of their time.

Different aspects of collecting data through informant interviewing are further described below.

Informant Interviewing

In discussing the adequacy of informants for various problems in the field, Zelditch (1964) suggests that informants are often prima facie unlikely to be adequate: some may not know the information desired; others may falsify.

From my own experience, only a few informants could be described as inadequate, and only towards the end of the field work did the question of adequacy become relevant. That is, in view of the material that had already been gathered it seemed that additional conversations were unlikely to be 'efficient' because they would add little to 'hard core' evidence. To use Zelditch's definition of efficiency of a procedure, the "cost per added input of information" (1964:569) was high.

This point would be better understood in the context of the creating and working of relationships with Gujaratis.

The term informants has been used to refer to all the people who were contacted and volunteered information, including the women who were contacted following an interview with them at Northwick Park Hospital. Amongst the informants were also people from Gujarat who were met in London. One such informant came to Britain for the purpose of raising funds for a hospital in a village from where several hundred families had migrated to Britain. He was approached following an article on the hospital which appeared in "New Life", and we subsequently met.

This was not the usual way in which new informants were approached. Establishing a new contact was best achieved by means of introduction by a third person, and this was the only way to make contacts with people in Gujarat. In Gujarat almost all the contacts were made through people in London. People who met me only briefly wrote letters to friends and relatives in Gujarat, asking them to assist me in the study, but not all the informants in London who had contacts in Gujarat assisted in this fashion.

In Harrow establishing a network of informants was difficult to begin with, since the Gujarati Community and in particular those amongst them who were active in pressure groups (for example, Harrow Asian Action Group) and anti-racist associations (for example, North London Community Group) were not inclined to co-operate. Some felt that the researcher was part of the establishment to which they were opposed. Others suspected that the

researcher was sent by a government agency or some similar organisation, and yet others thought (and said so openly) that I had sided with a rival camp within the Gujarati lobby described in chapter 3. However, only one person who was for a long period a major figure in this lobby, was not interviewed. His opinions were recorded during meetings of the CLWP and several relevant details about him were found through other people.

Given that most of the informants agreed to co-operate only if their identities would not be revealed, the researcher was obliged to comply with this request. Even a short description of those who participated in the CLWP meetings (specifying their age, sex, occupation and so on) would have enabled a disclosure of their identity, and therefore such descriptions were altogether avoided. Only in a few cases, when the opinions of these people were quoted in the press or publicized by other means (e.g bulletin of caste association), were names mentioned. This was the case with Praful Patel (see p. 225), who - more than any other informant - made it plain that his opinions could be quoted. There were other public figures, however, who did not wish their names to be mentioned in a specific context.

The problem of identifying people was not essentially related to their opinions, whether these were concerned with Harrow Council or even with rifts within the Gujarati community. The problem was whether to use, and to what extent, allegations that certain Gujaratis made on the

conduct of their contemporaries. Such allegations, most of which could not have been substantiated, would - if published - be libellous. Several such allegations were concerned with the management of funds, and none of these were mentioned in the thesis. I felt free, however, to write about the rivalry between the Gujarati publishers, since this could be inferred from their weeklies respectively (see below).

The difficulty of establishing long-term relationships with informants meant that it was necessary to maintain contacts with some people who provided little concrete information. One such informant, for example, tended to enlarge upon various events that were taking place in Harrow, but otherwise did not disclose any valuable information.

This informant, like several others, was a 'reluctant collaborator'. Such informants were very selective in the information they were willing to part with or discuss and a few attempted deliberately to be as 'inefficient' as possible in order not to be approached again. Other informants, alternatively, said that they were not the 'right people' to talk to because their opinions did not represent a large cross section of the Gujarati population, or that they were not up-to-date on matters in which I was interested. It was evident that these people tried to discredit themselves, yet on the whole it is difficult to discern a pattern of response. Amongst the informants were activists, well-known in the Gujarati community, who did not reside in Harrow. Several such informants who were reluctant to co-operate were not approached again.

Altogether about 40 people were interviewed at least once. These included, first of all, Gujaratis who attended the CLWP meetings and activists (mostly office holders) in caste associations. Gujaratis who were active in religious and other voluntary associations, e.g UK Asian Women Conference, were also interviewed. Kanti Nagda, who is mentioned by name in the thesis, was interviewed three times.

Interviews with officers of Harrow CRC, including temporary employees and people who no longer work there, were also undertaken. One officer read some of the material produced for the thesis and gave comments. This officer usually attended the CLWP meetings and was familiar both with councillors, Council employees and ethnic activists in the Borough.

Out of the local authority's staff one person in particular was attentive to any query regarding the management of the CLWP. When information could be obtained from other sources this person advised as to other people in the Borough who could give assistance. Another employee, who worked in the Law and Administration Department, co-operated when the need arose, and so did the Equal Opportunities adviser. It ought to be added that contacts with these people did not necessarily take the form of interviews. At times only a certain detail was missing, e.g the reason why a certain meeting had been postponed, and conversation with the relevant people were conducted over the phone. This procedure was also implemented with the remainder of informants, but not with councillors.

Three councillors were interviewed: one who headed the Council at the time of the Ugandan expulsion, one who sat at the meetings of the PCCC and who was involved in matters concerning ethnic minorities, and one who chaired the WPRA. This councillor also chaired the CLWP from its inception, in 1982, till 1986.

I attended meetings of the CLWP during 1985 and 1986, and notes were taken down throughout these meetings. The notes were later compared with the minutes of these meetings. Only on one occasion, in late 1986, were the proceedings of a meeting tape-recorded. It was not always feasible to tape-record meetings, since these were mostly conducted in a room where the acoustic conditions were inappropriate for recording. Only when meetings were conducted in a room which was used for Council meetings was it possible to tape-record, and it was on one of these occasions when the tape-recording of a whole meeting took place.

I previously described all the major functions organized by Gujaratis (see p. 291) which I attended, but did not specify what members of caste associations were approached. Officials of all the major caste associations were interviewed, and also the secretary of one small caste association. The activities of this association, the Shree Vishwakarma Association of the United Kingdom, were followed closely. This was partly as a result of the close contacts established with its members in the early stages of the study. And, since

this was a small caste association, only a small part of the information obtained on the working of this association was included in the thesis. With regard to one of the large caste associations, the NAPS, most of its members who were contacted resided outside Harrow, since there was no branch of this association in Harrow. One such family lived close to Harrow (in Kingsbury), and another family, who lived in Harrow and whose members were active in the Wembley branch (of the NAPS), were interviewed.

Finally, as I have already indicated in passing, the rivalries amongst Gujaratis affected the field work. This alludes in the main to the rivalry between two Gujarati publishers, but there were other rivalries amongst Gujaratis, some of which were seen by the Gujaratis themselves as 'purely personal'. The first rivalry, however, was long and well-established. When, for example, one publisher was found guilty in a libel case, its rival publicized this on the first page of his weekly. In the course of this long rivalry some Gujarati activists changed sides and moved from one camp to the other, and at times it was difficult to understand the reasons behind this move. Nonetheless, it was necessary to monitor these changes and adjust the conversations so as not to be suspected of siding with one or the other camp.

The field work had, on the whole, to be carefully conducted. This was partly due to the fact that issues relating to ethnic minorities in Britain were sensitive, but it was also related to the situation of the population

studied. This was a dynamic community, one which comprised people who continually pursued their interests not only as members of an enclosed community but also as people involved in the wider society. This was in addition to an unceasing search for the most effective ways to promote economic, political and other interest.

To sum up this 'behind the scenes' account, I hope that the above succinctly reflects that changing situation which, as I have shown, affected the ways in which this study had to be conducted.

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Part 1

1. In what country were you born?
2. In what place in your country were you born?
3. Did you arrive in the U.K. from _____ (country of birth)?
4. When did you arrive in the U.K?
5. Where was the first place you lived in when you came to the U.K?
6. For how long have you been living in Harrow?
7. In what type of accommodation do you live?
8. How many rooms are there in your accommodation, apart from the kitchen, bathroom and toilet?
9. Can you tell me whether you have one or more of the following:

bath	shower
central heating	
washing machine	drier
refrigerator	separate deep freeze unit
television	video
car	

10. How many people live in the accommodation?
11. When did you get married?
12. In which country was your husband born?
13. When did your husband arrive in the U.K?
14. Is he employed?
15. What work does he do?
16. For how long has he been working in this place?
    or:
    For how long has he been running business?
17. Are you employed?
18. What work do/did you do?

19. Were you employed part or full time?

20. How many years of formal education do you have?

20. Did you have any training after leaving school?

21a. Do you or your husband have family in the area of London?

22b. (if 'yes') Where?

22. When did you last see these relatives?

23a. Do you or your husband have relatives in other parts of the U.K?

23b. (if 'yes') Where?

24. Have you seen them recently?

25. Do you have relatives in India or East Africa?

26. Have you seen them in the last two years?

27. What religion do you practise?

Part 2

1a. Are you the only cook in the household?
1b. (if 'no') Who else is doing the cooking?

2. Do you cook everyday?

3. As a Hindu/Jain, do you fast?

4. Have you fasted during your pregnancy?

5a. During the week, when do you eat the main meal?
5b. Do you eat the main meal at the same time on Saturday and Sunday?

6. Do all the members of the household eat the main meal at the same time?

7a. Do the children eat the same food as you do?
7b. (if 'no') What do they eat?
/repeat this question for each child/

8a. Do they take their own food to school?
8b. (if 'yes') What do they take?

9a. Does your husband take food to work?
9b. (if 'yes') What does he take?

10. Do you eat anything between meals?

11. Can you tell me which members of the household eat meat or fish?

	wife	husband	child
fish			
meat (no beef)			
beef			
pork			

12. Do you and/or your husband eat _____ at home?

13. Do you use a separate utensil for cooking meat?

14a. Do you use the oven?
14b. (if 'yes') What for?

15a. Do you make rotlis, puris or parotha?
15b. (if 'yes') Do you make them every day?

16a. Do you make shak every day?
16b. Do you make dhal every day?

17a. Do you make dishes which are not Indian?
17b. (if 'yes') What dishes are these?

18. Do you make cakes.

19a. Do you have breakfast?
19b. (if 'yes') When did you have breakfast this morning?

20. What did you have for breakfast?

21. What did you cook for yesterday's supper?

22a. Have you attended cookery demonstrations?
22b. (if 'yes') Did you prepare, afterwards, any dish that was demonstrated?
What dish was it?

23a. Can you recall preparing a new dish during the last month?
23b. (if 'yes') What dish was it?
Where and how did you learn to prepare it?

24. Have you eaten in a restaurant during the last month?

25a. Do you buy 'take away' food?
25b. When did you last buy it?

26a. Do you buy any frozen food?
26b. (if 'yes') specify.
26c. Where do you buy it?

27a. Do you buy canned food?
27b. (if 'yes') specify.

APPENDIX IV

SELECTED FINDINGS
(n=53; figures were rounded to the nearest integer)

Part 1

1 Country of birth (wife)
72% East Africa or other country (excluding India)
28% were born in India

2 Country of birth (husband)
83% East Africa
17% India or elsewhere

3 Country of birth (wife and husband)
66% of the couples - husband and wife - were not born in the same country
34% of the couples - were born in the same country

4 Arrival in the UK (wife)
44% have been staying in Britain since 1975
56% came in the period between 1967-1975
(none of the wives questioned arrived in Britain before 1967)

5 Arrival in the UK (husband)
26% have been staying in Britain since 1975
74% came before 1975
(15 of the husbands arrived in Britain before 1967 while none of the wives arrived before 1967)

6 Settlement in Britain (wife)
42% settled in Harrow upon arrival
58% settled first elsewhere and later moved to Harrow

7 Accommodation
10% live in flats or shared flats
68% live in semi-detached houses
22% in detached houses

8 Accommodation Ownership
87% of either the couples or their relatives own the accommodation
13% live in rented accommodation

9 Density of Accommodation
6% live in 1-3 rooms
87% live in 4-6 rooms
7% in more than 6 rooms

10 Washing Machine Ownership
81% have washing machines (out of which 43% have drying machines)
19% do not have washing machines

11 Television Ownership
96% own a television (out of which 51% have videos)
4% do not own a television

12 Car Ownership
13% do not have a car
44% have one car, only the husband drives
28% have one car: both wife and husband drive
15% have more than one car

13 Number of People in Accommodation
7% 2 people
30% 3 people
34% 4-5 people
29% 6-9 people

14 Number of Years in Marriage
53% 0-4
38% 5-9
9% 10+

15 Occupation (husband)*

16 Employment (husband)
number of years with current employer
0-5 60%
6-10 29%
11-15 9%
16+ 2%

17 Employment 1 (wife)
17% never worked outside the home
83% were employed and stopped working either in this or in previous pregnancy

18 Employment 2 (wife)
(out of the 83% who were employed)
12% worked part time
88% worked full time

19 Formal Education
53% up to 12 years
47% more than 12 years

20 Professional Training
39% did not have any sort of professional training
9% started a course (leading to a profession) but did not finish
34% started and finished a course
18% completed university education

20 Relatives - Dispersal
4% no family in the London area
96% family living in the London area

*reporting of wives was found to be inadequate.

21 Frequency of Seeing Relatives 1 (London area)
22% less than once a month
30% less than once a week
22% about once a week
26% more than once a week

22 Relatives - outside London
40% no family outside the London area
60% family living outside London area

23 Frequency of Seeing Relatives 2 (outside London)
45% about once a year or less
55% more than once a year

24 Relatives outside Britain
6% no relatives outside Britain
13% have relatives in East Africa only
50% have relatives both in East Africa and India
31% have relatives in India only

25 Frequency of Seeing Relatives 3
43% have not seen relatives in the last two years
57% have seen relatives in the last two years (23% arrived in Britain within this period)

26 Religion
72% Hindu
20% Jain
8% Swaminarayans

Part 2

1 Number of cooks in the household
4% do not cook at all
58% wife is the only cook
38% more than one cook

2 Cooking Routine
94% cook every day
6% do not cook every day

3 Fasting
14% never fast
12% fasted before coming to the UK (but not after)
74% fast occasionally or regularly

4 Meal taking routine (adults)
20% of those questioned do not always eat the main meal at the same time
80% eat the main meal at the same time

5 Children's Food - main meal
18% eat different food, consistently
24% children have their own favourites
9% eat the same food but less spicy
49% eat the same food

6 Children's Food - school/nursery
20% take food from home
80% do not take food from home

7 Eating at Work (husband)
58% do not take food
32% take food
10% eat at home

8

Meat eating	males	females	child
do not eat any meat	25%	58%	33%
with some restrictions	41%	22%	56%
without restrictions	43%	20%	11%

9 Meat eating (using special/separate utensils)
40% do not eat meat at home
16% use special utensils for meat
44% do not use special utensils

10 Using the oven
12% do not use an oven
14% use oven for heating food
74% use oven for various purposes

11 Preparing Indian bread
92% prepare bread every day
8% do not prepare bread every day

12 Preparing dhal or shak
90% prepare either every day
10% do not prepare either every day

13 Preparing non-Indian Dishes
35% only processed non-Indian food
46% cook non-Indian food
19% cook non-Indian food only

14 Breakfast
7% do not have breakfast
3% Indian - rotli, chevda
26% a combination
64% 'British' - cereal, toast, marmalade, and so on

15 Cake preparation
31% never bake cakes
29% bake cakes (on the basis of packet instructions)
40% bake 'genuine' cakes

16 Breakfast
7% do not have breakfast
70% have breakfast with the husband
23% not with the husband

17 Sweet Consumption
12% 'Never' eat sweets
31% eat Indian sweets only
10% eat 'English' sweets
47% eat 'both'

18 Breakfast - drink
2% nothing
3% juice
19% milk
73% Gujarati tea
2% English tea

19 Yesterday's supper (refers only to those who ate at home the previous day)
78% Indian
26% Indian, with a non-Indian ingredient - salad dressing, icecream, cake
0% combination
6% British

20 Preparing a New Dish (month previous to the interview)
73% not preparing any new dish
10% preparing something after not cooking it for a long time
2% preparing a new dish - instruction from a magazine or TV programme
15% preparing a new dish - instructions from friends, family, or from cookery demonstrations

21 Frequenting restaurants (month previous to the interview)
50% do not frequent a restaurant
23% frequent Indian restaurants
17% other restaurants
10% both Indian and other restaurants

22 Using 'Take Away' Service (month previous to the interview)
44% no take-away
20% Indian take-away
26% other take-away
10% both Indian and other

23 Purchasing Frozen Food
14% no frozen food
28% only a few items
41% a variety but not ready-made dishes
17% 'all'

24 Purchasing Canned Food
8% no canned food is purchased
70% only a few items (mainly beans, fruits or tomato)
22% 'all'

25 Proximity to Indian grocery shop
26% no Indian shop within walking distance
28% Indian shop within walking distance but shopping elsewhere
46% a nearby shop used

APPENDIX V

GLOSSARY - Gujarati Food

atanu - pickle

bajri-millet; other kinds of millet are juar and kodara.

barfi - sweet from condensed milk; nowadays milk powder has substituted milk.

bhakri - a bread similar to rotli (see below) but thicker.

bhat - cooked rice.

bhajia - vegetables dipped in a thick batter made from flour of chick-peas and then deep fried.

cha (tea) - brewed from equal quantities of milk and water, boiled together with tea leaves, sugar and a mixture of spices.

chas - buttermilk; prepared from yogurt shaken and mixed with water.

chevda - deep-fried vermicelli made from chick-pea flour mixed with roasted pulses.

choka - rice.

dhal - (lit. split pulse) pulses boiled in water, made into a soup and spiced.

dhai - yogurt.

dokra - steam baked flat savoury cakes made of rice and chick-pea flour.

ghee - clarified butter; the butter is boiled to remove moisture.

gol - molasses.

khadi - a spiced soup of curds with water and chick-pea flour added; eaten instead of dhal.

kichadi - green pulses cooked with rice.

kachori - pastry filled with a vegetable mix and deep-fried.

masala - a mixture of spices.

mithai - sweetmeat.

pan - a betel leaf taken with various mixtures of betel nut, seeds, coconut, spices and sometimes tobacco.

papadi - a kind of wafer; made from dough of chick-pea flour cooked and dried in the sun.

prashad - food which has been blessed in the place of worship and is then distributed among devotees.

pudla - a western-like pancake made with chick-pea flour.

puri - puffed round wheat pastries, deep-fried. The Gujarati paratha is similarly deep-fried but is larger than puri.

rotli (also known as chapati) - wheat flour mixed with water and a small portion of oil; rolled flat and cooked without fat; rotla is thicker and is made of juar.

sagadi - a stove for cooking by burning wood or coal.

sev/gantia - a snack of extruded-like noodles of different sizes and deep-fried; made of spiced dough.

shak - (lit. vegetables) a dish made mostly from either vegetables or pulses. The vegetables are chopped into small pieces and cooked for a long time with spices.

siro - a preparation made from flour, water, sugar and ghee.

tepla - a variation of rotli; can be made from different flours mixed together, with spices. Tepla is always fried.

thali - a metal tray on which food is served; nowadays usually of stainless steel.

tavadi - clay receptacle used for the preparation of various kinds of bread.

tuver - pigeon peas.

vagar - the first stage of cooking several dishes, especially shak and dhal, when seeds (mustard, cumin and others) are fried in oil.

LONDON BOROUGH OF HARROW

APPENDIX VI

MANPOWER POLICIES PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES

SECTION:	**3 Employment Practices**	**REFERENCE: M.3.5.**
SUBJECT:	**Statement of Council's Equal Opportunity Policy**	**DATE: March, 1980.**

Applicable to:	All employees	
Status:	Policy	Amended Manpower Sub Committee 3.11.80 (Rec. 5)
Source:	Sex Discrimination Act 1975/Race Relations Act 1976 Manpower Sub Committee 17 March 1980 (Min 304)	

PART I

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COUNCIL

The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1976 ('the Acts') require the Council to avoid unlawful discrimination in:-

1.1 Employment;

1.2 Education;

1.3 The provision of goods, facilities, services and the disposal or management of premises.

Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 provides:

> "Without prejudice to their obligation to comply with any other provision of this Act it shall be the duty of every local authority to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need –
>
> (a) to eliminate unlawful racial discriminations; and
>
> (b) to promote equality of opportunity, and good relations between persons of different racial groups."

In this statement of Equal Opportunity Policy:–

3.1 "Unlawful discrimination" means direct or indirect discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status, colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins in the fields referred to in paragraph 1 above.

3.2 "Racial Group" means a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins, and references to a person's racial group refer to any racial group into which he falls.

STATEMENT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY

This document comprises a statement of the Council's Equal Opportunity Policy in pursuance of Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 and for the avoidance of unlawful discrimination under the Acts.

It is the policy of the Council to ensure that all employees are recruited, trained and promoted on the basis of ability and the requirements of the job, without regard to the employee's sex, marital status, parental or prospective parental status, colour, race, nationality or ethnic or national origins and to carry on its undertaking without unlawful discrimination under the Acts.

Exceptions to this statement of equal opportunity policy are:–

6.1 Section 48 of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and Section 38 of the Race Relations Act 1976. These sections broadly state that where during the previous year, there have been no persons of one sex or a particular racial group employed in a job (or there have been comparatively few) the Council may encourage persons of that sex or racial group to apply for the job. However, preference is not to be given to a particular sex or a member of a particular racial group in the actual selection of the successful candidate; the selection must be based on the merits and qualifications of the individual to do the job.

6.2 Section 7 of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and Section 5 of the Race Relations Act 1976. These sections list exceptions in which sex or being a member of a particular racial group is a genuine occupational qualification but they do not give automatic exemption for the general categories of jobs (see Part III Paragraph 3 of this statement).

A member of a racial group or a particular sex shall not be treated more favourably because he or she belongs to that racial group or sex.

DISABLED EMPLOYMENT

The Council shall pursue the following policy in relation to disabled persons .

8.1 Full and fair consideration for all types of vacancies;

8.2 Retention of newly disabled employees wherever possible, after rehabilitation or training;

8.3 Equal opportunities for training, career development and promotion;

8.4 Modifications to equipment, the use of special employment aids, or job restructuring, where appropriate;

8.5 Adaption of premises where necessary; and

8.6 Close co-operation with the Disabled Resettlement Officer.

PART II

ORGANISATION AND ARRANGEMENTS

Directors

Directors shall make appropriate arrangements to avoid unlawful discrimination in the Council's undertaking and

1.1 To draw to the attention of the Council any matter arising from the implementation of this policy that in their judgement is of such a nature that Members should consider and decide upon it.

1.2 To ensure within the powers delegated to them under Standing Orders that remedial action is taken to achieve compliance with this policy when any deviation from it is identified.

1.3 To ensure that the appropriate action is taken arising from an investigation by the Equal Opportunities Commission or the issue of a Non Discrimination Notice.

Controllers

The Controllers, in conjunction with the relevant departmental Personnel Officer shall:–

2.1 Ensure managerial and supervisory employees avoid unlawful discrimination by observing the terms of the statement of policy.

2.2 Annually review all procedures and practices relating to employees within their departments or divisions to ensure as far as reasonably practicable that there is no unlawful discrimination.

2.3 Report at least annually to their Director and to Committee on the performance of the Department in relation to the duties and responsibilities assigned by the Acts.

2.4 Designate a senior member of their staff to be responsible for the periodic review of the working of the policy and ensure it is being observed.

2.5 Be responsible for drawing the Council's attention to claims of unlawful discrimination and ensuring that remedial action is taken as necessary.

Managerial and Supervisory Employees

In this Statement of Policy 'managerial and supervisory employees' are:

Directors, Controllers, Assistant Controllers, Managers and Supervisors.

For the purposes of the statement of policy:–

4.1 'Assistant Controllers' are employees graded within the Assistant Controller salary scale of the Council.

4.2 'Managers' are employees with the assigned responsibility for the management of a Council establishment or function e.g. Transport Manager, Branch Librarian, Officer of a residential establishment.

4.3 'Supervisors' are employees who have a responsibility of supervising the operation of other employees, e.g. working foremen, cook supervisor.

It is the duty of every managerial and supervisory employee:–

5.1 Not to instruct another to engage in unlawful discrimination or put pressure on that other to discriminate whether by offering a benefit or threatening some other detrimental treatment.

5.2 Acting in close collaboration with the relevant departmental personnel officer, to ensure employees for whom he is responsible avoid unlawful discrimination by ensuring the terms of the statement of policy are observed.

5.3 To ensure that he is fully aware of the statement of policy and understands the consequences of not complying with the legislation and relevant codes of practice: investigation, summons to an industrial tribunal, fines and the serving of a non discrimination notice.

The attention of managerial and supervisory employees is drawn to:–

6.1 The commentary on the matters mentioned in Part II of this Statement of Policy set out as guidelines for them to note and observe.

6.2 Section 41(3) of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and Section 32(3) of the Race Relations Act 1976 which provide a defence for the Council who would otherwise be liable for an unlawful act done by one of its employees if it can prove that it took such steps as were reasonably practicable to prevent an employee from committing the unlawful act in question or acts of that kind. The Council hereby declares that it believes that it has taken such steps by stating the responsibilities of managerial and supervisory employees in the Statement of Policy.

INDIVIDUAL EMPLOYEES

Employees are reminded of their responsibility under the Acts not to unlawfully discriminate and to co-operate with the Council to enable it to carry out its own responsibilities successfully.

An employee who receives an enquiry or request for information from the Equal Opportunities Commission or Commission for Racial Equality or from their respective agents or representatives shall refer it to the Controller of his department or division.

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

If any employee wishes to say he is the subject of unlawful discrimination he should raise the matter with the Controller of his department or division. If the claim of unlawful discrimination becomes a grievance, it should be dealt with by the Council's grievance procedure.

DISPUTE

Should a claim of unlawful discrimination become a dispute, it should be dealt with by using the procedure for avoidance of disputes.

PART III

PUBLICATION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY

This statement of policy will be given to all employees of the Council.

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

ACCESS TO JOB

Every job will be open equally to men and women who have the required qualifications (including suitabily qualified disabled persons) in accordance with Part I of this policy.

Exceptions are in Section 7 of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and in Section 5 of the Race Relations Act 1976. These sections give a list of exceptions in which sex or being a member of a particular racial group is a genuine occupational qualification but they do not give automatic exemption for the general categories of jobs. On each occasion that such a job falls vacant, the Council will assess the position to discover whether the exceptions in the sections apply or if the job can be open to both sexes and members of all racial groups.

JOB ADVERTISEMENTS

4. No job advertisements (whether in wording or illustration) or instruction to an employment agency will imply in any way that the job is open only to applicants of one sex or excludes disabled persons or a particular racial group. However, if any exception for a genuine occupational qualification applies to the job this fact will be stated in the advertisement.

ENQUIRIES ABOUT JOBS

5. Employees should note that when replying on behalf of the Council to an enquiry about a job advertisement, whether made over the telephone or in person (or an enquiry which generally seeks information about possible vacancies), it is now unlawful to state or imply in any way that applicants from only one sex or from a particular racial group will be considered. Contravention of this requirement may lead to a complaint being made to an Industrial Tribunal that the Council or the employee in question has unlawfully discriminated against the enquirer.

JOB QUALIFICATIONS AND REQUIREMENTS

6. Qualifications or requirements applied to a job which would effectively restrict it to applicants from only one sex or racial group have to be justifiable otherwise they constitute indirect discrimination under the Acts. In deciding whether a qualification or requirement is justified the needs of the Council as an employer must be weighed against the discriminatory effects of the qualification or requirement. The requirement or qualification must be necessary not merely convenient and in such cases consideration will be given to whether there is some other non-discriminatory way of achieving the object.

TRAINING AND PROMOTION

7. Training opportunities and the basis for selection will not be less favourable for one sex or racial group than another. However, where the job has recently been done almost exclusively by one sex or racial group advantage may be taken of the sections of the Acts stated in paragraph 6 of Part I of this Statement of Policy to make training specially available to members of the previously excluded sex or racial group.

8. All applications for training from existing employees (including disabled persons) shall receive due consideration, irrespective of the sex or racial origin of the applicant.

9. For new employees, training and induction courses shall be open equally and on terms not less favourable to one sex or racial group than the other or others. All employees (including disabled persons) as appropriate shall receive training which will enable them to make the best possible contribution to the Council's undertaking. Apprenticeships and other training schemes shall be open equally and on terms not less favourable to one sex or racial group than the other or others. If all or almost all trainees in the previous 12 months have been from one sex or racial group advantage may be taken of those sections of the Acts allowing lawful discrimination referred to in paragraph 6 of Part I of this Statement of Policy.

10. PROMOTION

The basis of selection for promotion shall not be less favourable for one sex or racial group than the other.

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Special Committee: Ugandan Asians

3 October, 1972
6 October, 1972
6 November, 1972
28 December, 1982
22 January, 1973 (including a report of the Deputy Executive and Borough Treasure on the Rate Support Grant)
12 February, 1973
12 March, 1973
17 April, 1973
30 April, 1973 (including a report of the Director of Social Services)

Co-ordinating Committee: Uganda Asian Refugees

19 October, 1972
15 November, 1972
10 January, 1973
21 February, 1973
27 March, 1973

Police and Community Consultative Committee (PCCC)

24 June, 1985
2 October, 1985
5 December, 1985
30 January, 1986
4 March, 1986

Working Party on Racial Assaults (WPRA)

22 March, 1982
13 April, 1982
22 April, 1982

Community Liaison Working Party (CLWP)

27 May, 1982
21 July, 1982
28 September, 1982
4 October, 1983
11 October, 1984
30 January, 1985
1 April, 1985
20 May, 1985
13 June, 1985
11 July, 1985
29 October, 1985
10 December, 1985
3 February, 1986 (special meeting on the use of Section 11 in Social Services)
4 February, 1986 (special meeting on the use of Section 11 in education)
12 February, 1986 (special meeting on the use of Section 11 in housing in manpower)
19 February, 1986 (special meeting: overall review on the use of Section 11)

Letters to the Borough of Harrow from:
Uganda Resettlement Board - 18 September, 1972
1 November, 1972
4 January, 1973
Uganda Asian Relief Trust - 4 December, 1972
Department of the Environment: Effect on Rate Support Grant - 17 April, 1973
Home Office - 23 August, 1985.